The Outlook

MARCH 28, 1917

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A HISTORIC WEEK

It would be hard to find seven consecutive days within a century (except perhaps the days immediately preceding the outbreak of the World War) so big with events of momentous possibility as the seven days from March 15 to March 21. Within that short space has occurred the Revolution in Russia, unparalleled since the days of the French Revolution. That of itself is sufficient to make this week historic. In addition, there has occurred the beginning, if not the completion, of a vast retirement of German forces on the western front, in some respects the greatest military movement that has happened since the defeat of the Germans on the Marne. Within those seven days has also occurred the further rout of the Turkish forces before the pressure exerted by the British and Russian armies in Persia, Mesopotamia, and Syria. Within this week, from Thursday to Wednesday, has occurred the open confession of Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg, the German Chancellor, that Germany must become more democratic; and also utterances of German Liberals indicating that they have gained some moral courage from the example of their Russian foes. Last, but to Americans by no means least important, during these seven days have appeared almost unmistakable signs of the entrance of the United States into the war as an active belligerent—signs evoked largely by the sinking of three American vessels and the loss of American lives through the piratical acts of German submarines, and capped by the President's call to Congress to meet in special session on April 2 for the purpose of dealing with the war situation.

Elsewhere in this issue our readers will find a full treatment of the Russian Revolution, including staff correspondence by George Kennan. As we go to press it is reported that the Czar and Czarina are held as prisoners.

THE GERMAN RETIREMENT IN THE WEST

Following a series of daily reports of British and French successes on the west came news of the long-expected German retirement in the great salient that extends from Lille and Arras to Rheims. No movement on so great a scale has occurred in France since the Germans were driven from the Marne to the Aisne. In three days the Germans gave up some two hundred and fifty towns and many hundred square miles of French soil. Early in the operations Bapaume and Péronne, which have been objectives of the British attacks, and which are strategic points of great value, were evacuated, and fell into the hands of the British. The curve in the line has been gradually straightened by the change in the front. The distance which the Allied forces have advanced has varied from a few yards at the ends of the line to fifteen miles or more in the middle. How much further the advance will be only time can tell. During all this retirement of the Germans the British and French kept in pursuit. For the first time on this front in more than two years troops have been fighting in the open, and cavalry on a large scale has been used.

For many weeks it has been evident that on this part of the line the German trenches were becoming absolutely untenable. The artillery fire of the French and the British has been so terrific that deeply dug subterranean defenses were destroyed, and even those which proved able to withstand shell-fire were in many cases cut off from supplies by the curtain of high explosives. It was certain that the Germans would have to retire some time; the only question was when and on what scale.

As the Germans withdrew from their former lines to lines unquestionably already prepared weeks, if not months, in advance, they wreaked upon the villages, the isolated houses, and even, as far as they could, upon the soil, what can seem only wanton destruction. An army yielding territory to an enemy must, of course, render that territory as useless to the enemy as possible for military purposes; but, according to all reports, the German work of destruction in this beautiful region of France has passed all bounds of military necessity. It can be explained only as a part of the deliberate German policy of frightfulness. Villages were mined so that not only public buildings but private houses would be ruined. The German soldiers took the pains to go into private houses and destroy dishes and pictures. Even artistic ruins were demolished. This sort of thing is not war; it is mere savagery. Vermin and wild beasts do not begin to do such wanton damage; yet civilized people regard them as fit subjects for extermination. The German Kaiser once commanded his soldiers to establish their reputation as Huns. The Kaiser's command has been obeyed.

What lines the Germans will ultimately occupy no one not in the confidence of the German General Staff or the information service of the Allies knows; but it is not to be supposed that they have retired without very good reason. What that reason is can only be surmised. It may be simply because they were too uncomfortable where they were. It may be that they have felt the need of men, and have undertaken to get them for use against Russia or in support of the routed Turks by shortening the line on their western front. It is significant that this withdrawal comes at a time when the Germans believe Russia is vulnerable because of the internal uprising, as well as at a time when Turkey needs support. It may be, however, that the German General Staff has come to the conclusion that this is a time to draw the British and French out of their trenches and beyond the reach of their heavy artillery, and then to attack them in the open.

It is to be remembered that, while the Germans have new defenses to which they can retire, the Allies are finding and can find ahead of them nothing but a shell-torn, muddy terrain which can afford them no shelter, and which is and must for some weeks be without facilities (such as roads and military buildings) for the use of their guns and the transport of their equipment and supplies. If this is the German plan, the German General Staff is evidently under some pressure to take risk. The German army will not find in the British and French forces another Rumanian army that can be pulled out of position and then overwhelmed. At the same time it will be folly none the less egregious because it has been exhibited before to underestimate the strategical ability or the resources that Hindenburg has at his command.

UNREST IN GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

However much the German military commentators may explain as a strategic move the retirement of the German forces in the west, the German people cannot be expected to find such explanation a good substitute for victory. And however much the German political leaders may interpret the Russian Revolution as a sign of weakness in their enemy, the German people cannot be prevented from catching, if only in a slight degree, the contagious spirit of revolt against autocracy. The wisest of the German leaders know this and have shown that they know it. This is true not only of the spokesman of autocracy, but also of the spokesman of what there is of liberalism in Germany.

Before the news of the Russian Revolution had reached the rest of the world it was known in Germany. Indeed, it was through Germany that the first news came to other peoples. Bethmann Hollweg, the German Chancellor, knew what was

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happening before the newspapers were allowed or had a chance to tell of it; and he saw what possibilities there were in it of danger, not to the enemies of Prussia, but to Prussianism itself. To use an Americanism, he got on the band-wagon before he let anybody know that a band-wagon was coming along. In an address to the Reichstag he indicated that reforms in the direction of democracy must come in Germany, and specifically in Prussia, after the war. "Woe to the statesman," he said, "who does not recognize the signs of the time and who, after this catastrophe, . . . believes that he can take up his work at the same point at which it was interrupted." He declared that "a strong policy, internal and external, will be possible only if the political rights of the community are such as to make possible for the whole nation, in all its ranks, including the great masses, equal and cheerful co-operation in public affairs;" and he specifically mentioned as one of the "lessons taught by the vast experiences in this war" the "regulation of the electoral franchise in Prussia," which is the very citadel of autocracy and privilege.

And with the revolution in Russia there has been injected in even the more timid of the Social Democratic leaders of Germany some new courage. Herr Scheidemann, who has cautiously avoided inviting the restraint put upon the more radical and outspoken Liebknecht, pricked up enough courage to say:

> It does not require many words to explain why almost the whole world is arrayed against us. The answer is given quickly. The whole world sees among our enemies more or less developed forms of democracy, and in us it sees only Prussians. We have always answered by referring to the absolutism of Russia, but now Czarism has gone. . . . Always the hesitator, the procrastinator, Bethmann Hollweg wants to cure Prussia after the war. Russia also promised all reforms after the war, but the war lasted too long for the Russians. . . . Now is the time for decisive action. . . . The Chancellor should not delay one day.

There are signs, too, that Austria-Hungary is—or perhaps we ought to say are—getting restive also. There it is not so much the spirit of revolt on the part of the people against their masters as impatience on the part of groups and races at the restraints imposed by an artificial and unprofitable Imperialism. The new Emperor, Charles, has been engaging in conferences with his august neighbor, the German Kaiser, and with others; and he is undoubtedly taking counsel as to what should be done with this ungovernable spirit of democracy that has withstood the Central Empires for two and a half years, has thrown out the servants of despotism from their places of power in Russia, and has even gone so far as to make some Germans think about political and civil rights.

RUTHLESS WARFARE AND AMERICAN ACTION

In comparison with the great events that have occurred in Russia and on the western front and in the Near East along the Tigris and the Euphrates, the killing of more Americans by a nation that has been killing Americans for two years or more without suffering any serious consequences may not seem particularly momentous. For some reason which it is not easy to state, however, the fact that within twenty-four hours there was reported the sinking of three American ships by German submarines seems to have aroused the Administration, and, through the Administration, the people of the country, to a sense of the need of action.

The fact that, three or four days before, another American vessel, the Algonquin, had been sunk by a German submarine was lightly passed over; but when the news came that the City of Memphis, the Illinois, and the Vigilancia, three American steamships, were subjected to the same kind of inhuman attack that hundreds of other merchantmen have been subjected to by the pirates of the German navy, there were rumors that the President was going to act. Of course this offense was not in any principle different from things that Germany had done repeatedly; and probably these incidents would have been passed by and been lost in the oblivion that has surrounded the Lyman M. Law and the Leelanaw and the Gulflight and other American vessels attacked, if it had not been that it occurred at a time when people were waiting and expecting action.

It so happened that just before that Ambassador Gerard arrived in New York—his home town—and, after paying a tribute to the President's patience in exhausting every honorable means in keeping us out of war, declared: "When I came back to this country, it was a positive shock to find that in the two years that had elapsed since the outbreak of the world conflagration our country had done nothing to prepare even for a reasonable National defense." Such a statement reflecting on the inaction of the Administration from one of that Administration's trusted Ambassadors may have served to arouse some who were still torpid. Perhaps, too, the efforts in various communities to arouse the President to action had some effect.

Thousands upon thousands of pledges that have been drawn up by a committee appointed by the Mayor of New York—pledges of loyalty not only to America, but also to the idea that American rights ought to be defended—have been sent to Washington, and are still going. Other measures, in the form of mass-meetings, as in New York City, resolutions, and the like, have helped to crystallize public opinion. There has come to our hand, for example, the message of Mayor Calkins, of Plainfield, New Jersey, which was sent to his Common Council, calling attention to the National peril and to the necessity for local as well as National action in the matter. Another example that has come to our hand is a set of resolutions adopted by the unanimous action of the Faculty of Ohio University.

A part of the price that free peoples have to pay for free government is that sometimes they bring upon themselves a government whose leaders do not lead, but who have to be driven. That seems to be the case in the United States now. That is why the President at this date has changed his mind and is calling a special session of Congress for a date two weeks earlier than that which he had originally set.

And if we suffer from war, if New York or Boston or Philadelphia or some other coast town is bombarded by a Zeppelin (which is conceivable) or by seaplanes assembled from submarines off our coast (which is highly possible), it will be because we have not been making the preparations against war which hundreds and thousands of citizens out of office have urged upon those who happen to have been in office.

Even China has acted. She has not only followed us in breaking off diplomatic relations with Germany, but she has gone ahead of us in seizing the German ships in her harbors.

Nervous haste at present cannot make up for the neglect of the last thirty months. What is past, however, is past. What we need now is not hurry, but prompt, decisive, and intelligent action.

IMMEDIATE MEASURES OF NAVAL DEFENSE

Although he has not mobilized the navy, the President, together with the Secretary of the Navy, has decided on certain measures of great importance. They are:

(1) The immediate construction of sixty submarine chasers at the New York Navy-Yard, their delivery to begin in from sixty to eighty days, and at the rate of one every three days.

(2) The construction of two hundred and as many more submarine chasers as private ship-building companies are able to build within the next few months, these to be 110-foot motor patrol boats, on contracts ranging from three to five months.

(3) Arrangements to draw upon privately owned motor craft available for navy use along the entire Atlantic coast, contracts having been already drawn up for their purchase.

(4) The enrollment of voluntary crews for these boats among yachtsmen, the commanders of naval districts being ready to call them out and begin patrol work without delay.

(5) A submarine patrol off the American coast, insuring the safe passage to and from American ports for all ships, and a working agreement with British and French patrol squadrons which are now endeavoring to protect ships passing through the German submarine zone.

(6) The utilization of the $115,000,000 naval emergency fund for the purchase and construction of submarine chasers, for small craft for use in anti-submarine work, aircraft, guns, ammunition, and the more expeditious construction of the ships which are now being built or which are under contract or authorized by Congress.

(7) The suspension of the provisions of the Eight-Hour Law

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with respect to naval construction and the payment of time and one-half for all overtime work on naval orders.

(8) An immediate graduation of some, if not all, of the first class of midshipmen at the Naval Academy, Captain Eberle, Superintendent of the Academy, having arranged to have this earlier graduation take place on March 29 instead of in June, the men to be at once commissioned second lieutenants.

(9) The immediate raising of the number of men in the navy, which has now been recruited to about 60,600, to the full emergency limit of 87,000.

These nine steps are admirable, and will doubtless be approved by the entire Nation, but for use in war at this time some of these provisions will not be immediately effective, for their results will not be available for several months.

As we face war, most of what we need to-day and lack would have been at hand if action had been taken two years and more ago. At that time the President called those who were urging this sort of preparation "nervous and excited." The fact is that preparation at that time would have prevented a great deal of the nervousness and excitement now apparently prevalent in some quarters.

The steps thus tardily taken will, we hope, be followed by a complete naval mobilization. In this event, three things would be immediately done:

Retired officers would be summoned to duty at yards and for shore stations, relieving active officers for sea duty.

The fleet reserve, now numbering about twelve hundred highly trained men, would be called to the colors.

The naval militia, numbering about ten thousand men, would be called out.

With these things accomplished, every ship of naval value, whether publicly or privately owned, including all reserves, ought to be made ready at once for action.

APAN AND AMERICA

The friendly relations between the Japanese and American Governments have been emphasized by the signal courtesy of the former Government consequent upon the death of George Vilkins Guthrie, American Ambassador at Tokyo.

Mr. Guthrie was appointed Ambassador to Japan a little less than four years ago. He was also accredited as special Ambassador to represent the President at the funeral of the Dowager Empress and at the coronation of the present Emperor in 1915.

Mr. Guthrie was sixty-nine years old. He was born in Pittsburgh, and lived most of his life in that city. He was a graduate of the University of Pittsburgh, and, entering actively into legal practice, took a great interest in politics. In 1876 he was counsel for the Tilden electors before the Florida Returning Board. In 1880 he became assistant secretary of the Democratic National Committee. He was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention in 1896, and from 1906 to 1909 he was Mayor of Pittsburgh, accomplishing many reforms.

Mr. Guthrie's service in Tokyo has been an acceptable one, and he had the privilege of representing his country at what to us is an increasingly important foreign post. The appreciation of these services was evident in Japan, and the Japanese regarded it as most appropriate that their Emperor should offer a war-ship to convoy the Ambassador's remains to this country, following the course of England some years ago with regard to Ambassador Reid. The Emperor's dignified letter to the President and the President's acceptance were all that could be wished. This exchange of courtesies will long be remembered by the Japanese people and the American people, and cannot fail to strengthen proper relations between them.

HE NEW FRENCH CABINET

For the fourth time since the war began France has a new Cabinet. The first war Cabinet, formed in August, 1914, under M. Viviani, had as its reason of being a broader power for the war Executive—the so-called "Strong Man Cabinet." The second Cabinet, formed in October, 1915, with M. Briand as Prime Minister, had as its reason the necessity for a coalition Ministry, with certain departments added to aid the war Executive. The third Cabinet, formed last December, still with M. Briand as Prime Minister, had as its reason the concentration and centralization of Ministerial forces with a view to placing the conduct of the war under a small group of executives. It is this Cabinet that has now undergone a change. Why?

Because of democracy. In its conduct of the war the Briand Cabinet found that it had more and more to centralize control with a proportionate lessening of Parliament's direct influence. Now, the French Parliament, still made up of members chosen just before the outbreak of the war on the issue of reaction against national defense legislation, has felt increasingly that it was being put to one side. Its irritation has not been lessened by certain Cabinet actions—the handling of the Greek and Rumanian situations, for instance. For them the Cabinet has had to stand many bitter reproaches. The opposition was led by that unsparing critic Georges Clemenceau, whose daily cry, "The Germans are still at Noyon," has now been perpetually silenced by the French and British advance beyond that town, sixty-seven miles from Paris.

Had this advance occurred a month ago, the Briand Cabinet might still be in the saddle. The first sign of its dissolution was when, because of opposition to his bill requiring that men rejected as soldiers on account of physical defects be re-examined, General Lyautey, Minister of War, badgered in Parliament beyond endurance, suddenly resigned. This was followed a few days later by the resignation of the whole Cabinet. It preferred to go out of power rather than to endure more pin-pricks. It demanded that it should have real support or clear opposition. It had become impossible for it to maintain the supremacy of Parliament over the army and at the same time to defend the army against the intolerable interference of parochial politicians.

The politicians who have brought about this result do not, we believe, represent the French nation, any more than some of our men in Congress represent our nation. Indeed, it had become a byword in Paris that "We have two enemies: the Germans at Noyon and the politicians at the Palais Bourbon"—where the Chamber of Deputies meets.

So the Briand Cabinet, which has carried on the war, on the whole, with enormous success for France, goes out of office. It is a victim of its course in not giving, as the politicians claim, sufficient explanation to Parliament. In this country, where we have been having too much talk and insufficient action, we may not be able to appreciate the condition of a country where the contrary is the case.

The new Cabinet, about to take office, is headed by that veteran statesman Alexandre Ribot, who has been Minister of Finance in all the French Cabinets since the war started. No one, we believe, commands the confidence of all parties to a greater degree than does M. Ribot. It is a satisfaction to note that former Premier Viviani is to be Minister of Justice, and that former Premier Bourgeois becomes Minister of Labor. The next most striking appointment is assuredly that of Professor Painlevé, who had been Minister of Public Instruction, and now assumes control of perhaps the most important position in the Cabinet, namely, the Ministry of War. M. Thomas, the efficient Minister of Munitions, serves again in that office, and Admiral Lecaze and Louis Malvy, who has presided over the Navy and Interior Departments for two Ministries, continue in those offices. For the most part the other members are new men to Cabinet office, one of the most conspicuous being M. Jules Steeg, the editor of "La Lanterne" and "La Revue Bleue."

The new Cabinet apparently returns to the old order, in that it has dissolved the departments (Justice and Public Works, Commerce and Agriculture, Labor and National Subsistence) centralized under the late Ministry into the separate portfolios which that Ministry had combined. The present portfolios are fifteen in number, including the Under-Secretaryship of Aviation, a Cabinet office which might also be recommended to other ministries at the present time.

THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

The President has, as we have said, called a special session of Congress. Originally he set the date at April 16; but now he has advanced the date of its assembling to April 2.

The Senate has already met in special session. As we ex-

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plained last week, such special sessions of the Senate alone are not unusual. Of all that the Senate has done at this time, most conspicuous is its action in confirming the appointment of the President's physician, Dr. Cary T. Grayson, naval surgeon with a subordinate grade as an officer in the Navy, to the office of Medical Director of the Navy, with the grade of Rear-Admiral. In doing this the President has advanced him over scores of others who outranked him. If Dr. Grayson's services and experience had been such as to make him conspicuously fit for this high position, this disregard of seniority would have been entirely justifiable. But there is no evidence that we have seen of conspicuous fitness. It is perhaps natural that the result of this appointment is to make men in the Navy feel that the way to get a promotion is not through faithful and efficient service, but through personal acquaintance with the appointing powers.

Another event of this session—one which we welcome—was the withdrawal of the unworthy Colombian treaty.

The Senate will reassemble at the same time as the House, on April 2. The crisis which the country faces makes this forthcoming special session of the Sixty-fifth Congress imperative.

How will it differ from the Sixty-fourth Congress?

When that Congress expired by constitutional limitation on March 4, 1917, 102 members retired. Of this number fifteen were Senators. A third of the Senate's membership is elected every two years, and on November 7, 1916, thirty-four Senators were elected, two being for short terms to fill vacancies caused by deaths in office. The fact that but fifteen Senators retire shows that the remainder were elected to succeed themselves. As a net result the Republicans gain two Senators in the Sixty-fifth Congress, the Senate consisting of fifty-four Democrats and forty-two Republicans, a majority of twelve for the Democrats.

The House of Representatives consists of 435 members. They are elected every two years. For the first time in a generation neither Democrats nor Republicans have elected the majority necessary (218) to control organization of the House. In the preceding Congress the Democrats had a safe majority, but in the Sixty-fifth Congress the House will contain 215 Democrats, 215 Republicans, and five independent members. These five are Mr. London, Socialist, of New York; Mr. Randall, Prohibitionist, of California; Mr. Fuller, Independent, of Massachusetts; Mr. Martin, Progressive, of Louisiana; and Mr. Schall, Progressive, of Minnesota. If 218 votes are necessary to organize the House, then either Democrats or Republicans must gain support from this independent group. Each side claims that at least two members from among the independents will vote with them in organizing the House. The situation has been further complicated, as we have already noted, by the deaths of Representatives Sulloway, Republican, of New Hampshire, and Conry, Democrat, of New York. It now develops that it will be possible to fill Mr. Conry's place before Mr. Sulloway's. Let us suppose that the Democrats have the advantage of one vote. Under the circumstances, there might well be coalition control. An organization of both House and Senate on a National rather than a party basis would meet the demands of prompt organization as well as of public opinion in this crisis. Certainly obstructions of party management should not be permitted at a juncture when all legislators should meet with minds intent on the supreme interests of the Nation.

ALASKA

On March 30, 1867, through the genius of William Henry Seward, Secretary of State, Alaska became a possession of the United States. Friday of the present week marks, therefore, the fiftieth anniversary of this the United States' largest outlying territory. The word Alaska is a corruption of the Aleut word "Alakshak," meaning "a great country."

The price paid to Russia for this territory was $7,200,000. During the half-century Alaska has multiplied that value many times. Alaska contains nearly six hundred thousand square miles. Although situated partly within the Arctic Circle, its climate is surprisingly mild, particularly along the coast, where there is much rainfall. Mining is the principal industry—gold, silver, copper, and coal; indeed, the coal and copper, at present not entirely developed, may exceed the gold output in value. Next come fisheries. It has been now demonstrated that certain grasses, grains, live stock, and vegetable are adapted to the climate. More directly to reach the coal fields, and also the navigable waters of the interior, Congress three years ago authorized the construction of a railway and appropriated $35,000,000. This railway will make available not only mines and waterways, but also many thousands of acres of agricultural lands. It is said that Alaska may have as much arable land as has Finland, a country which not only supports a population of 2,500,000, but exports grain, live stock, butter and cheese. The value of Alaska, therefore, is likely to be even greater than at present.

The Alaskan natives belong to four groups: the Eskimo inhabiting the northern part of the territory; the Aleut, found only on the Aleutian Islands and the adjacent mainland; the Thlinkeets, who are confined to what is known as the Panhandle in the south; and, finally, the Athabascans, of the same stock as the North American Indians, who dwell in the interior.

During the first seventeen years of its existence Alaska had little attention from Congress. A collector of customs and some troops were our Government's only representatives. That, however, has been changed. The present Alaskan Government consists of a Governor, a Secretary of Territory, a Treasurer, and a Legislature of two houses, the Senate and the House of Representatives, eight members in the first and sixteen in the second. The Legislature sits at Juneau, the capital. The term of office for Senators is four years and for Representatives two years. The powers of the Legislature are limited; for instance, it cannot grant private charters or special privileges, nor is it permitted to levy taxes in excess of one per cent of the assessed valuation of property. All laws must be submitted to Congress for approval before they become valid.

Alaska has been an interesting region for the spread of education and religion. Although there is a relatively small number of children of school age in the Territory, the people have shown much interest in public schools. The native schools are in charge of the United States Bureau of Education. In addition to these schools, educational facilities are furnished by the Greek Catholics, who introduced Christianity to Alaska, the Roman Catholic, Moravian, Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Methodist churches, and other bodies. As the material resources of Alaska and the call of the wild invite adventurous pioneers so the opportunities for educational and religious work call for those no less adventurous spirits that find zest in laying the foundations of civilization. Alaska is one of the most profitable investments yet made by a nation.

PREPARING WOMEN FOR SERVICE IN WAR TIME

In war time a country will need the best possible service from women.

That service will not be with rifle or machine gun or high explosives, but will be, in part, service that cannot be rendered by men who are in the trenches, and, in part, service that can be rendered by women better than by men under any circumstance.

There is need, therefore, for a special kind of military training for women. To supply such training the National Service School, Incorporated, has under way arrangements for a training-camp for women at Chevy Chase, Maryland. To be eligible for this camp an American woman must be eighteen years of age or over, her application to the committee in charge must be accepted, and she must be or become a member of the Woman's Section of the Navy League of the United States. The committee in charge of the National Service School consists of people of responsibility. Two of the honorary commandants are Mrs. George Dewey, whose late husband, the Admiral of the Navy, took special interest in this school and personally chose the site of the encampment for this year, and Mrs. Hugh L. Scott, wife of the Chief of Staff of the United States Army. On the Advisory Board, besides Major-General Scott, are several other officers both of the Navy and of the Army.

There are to be three courses of instruction. All three include such subjects as the making of surgical dressings and military calisthenics and drill. Those who attend the encampment can choose among such subjects as first aid to the injured, knitting and plain sewing, bicycling, telegraphy, elementary hygiene, dietetics.

Fuller information can be had by writing to the National

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CARTOON OF THE WEEK

Harding in the Brooklyn Eagle

THE RESURRECTION

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Service School, Incorporated, 1606 Twentieth Street N. W., Washington, D. C. The fee for resident students—that is, those women who will stay in camp—is thirty dollars for the course of twenty days. There will be other expenses to cover traveling, uniforms, other supplies, etc.

There are to be two periods of encampment, one from April 16 to May 5, applications for which should be in by April 1; the other from May 7 to May 26, applications for which should be in by April 25. The resident students, girls and women, will live in tents properly and fully guarded, under careful supervision for the preservation of health, and under strict discipline, with women physicians, trained nurses, and a camp matron in residence.

Though this encampment is not—as the Plattsburg and Fort Terry training-camps are—legally and officially recognized by the Government, the discipline, instruction, and general conduct of the camp will be practically the same as if it were a Governmental institution. The character of those in charge of the camp insures this.

This is the second year in which such an encampment has been held. Last year it was held in May, and the opening exercises were attended by the President and by Cabinet officers and high officials in the army and navy and Marine Corps of the United States. Nearly a thousand students were trained last year. The enrollment for this year has already reached a thousand, and will undoubtedly far exceed that number. Indeed, so many enrollments have been received that we are under the impression that there are vacancies only for the second period (May 7 to May 26), and there is a possibility of a third camp being held.

"LA LIBRE BELGIQUE"

The Paris "Temps" informs us that the little Belgian newspaper called "La Libre Belgique" is still alive, and has celebrated the second anniversary of its existence. Its first number appeared in January, 1915. According to the "Temps," the offices of "La Libre Belgique" are in an automobile—to-day in one place and to-morrow in another, or at one particular hour in one place and at another hour in another—so that the Germans may not discover where the editors work. For two years the Germans have searched high and low to ascertain where the paper is printed, and have offered a reward of $10,000 for information which would disclose the names of the editors and publishers as well as the place of publication.

But their search has been in vain. Instead—and what must make the search specially exasperating—every morning General von Bissing, the German Governor of Belgium, finds "La Libre Belgique" in his mail—at least so says the Milan "Corriere della Sera."

This is the only announcement we have seen that "La Libre Belgique" had been changed from a weekly to a daily. Certainly a daily iteration might deepen any impression of Belgium's condition as seen by Belgians which General von Bissing gets out of the journal; indeed, one issue published a portrait of this official shown as reading that paper. The caption recited that "our dear Governor, disheartened by the lies in the censored journals, seeks the truth in 'La Libre Belgique'!"

A SCHOOL FOR WHITE WINGS

A school to teach New York's street-cleaners just how to wield the broom and scraper with the greatest possible efficiency is the latest educational institution of the metropolis. It has been established but a few months, yet already the results show that it serves a genuine need, as recruits who graduate from the White Wings College are better fitted for their task than men who have seen service in the streets for months. There are about three thousand sweepers in New York, twenty-eight hundred drivers, and a force of flushers, stablemen, and tractor drivers, besides a field force of officers numbering three hundred and fifty.

All these men receive instruction in a class-room on the dock at Nineteenth Street and the East River, where Instructor J. J. Condon gives daily lectures and demonstrations. The hall is about forty feet long and contains all the equipment used in street-cleaning, including a dump cart and a life-size model of "Teddy," the prize-winning horse of the Department. The wooden horse is furnished with a regulation harness, and new drivers are taught how to hitch and unhitch by experience on the model. As careless harnessing can lead to sore backs and crippled horses, this is an important part of the course. The drivers are taught how to care for their animals, detect signs of sickness, and apply the proper remedies. The sweepers learn that there is a right way and a wrong way to handle the broom, and that different pavements require different cleansing methods. In order to make this detail clear, the floor of the class-room is painted to represent a block-paved street, with intersection, manholes, cable slots and tracks, all reproduced. The flushers learn all about the use of the hose, reels, and hydrants, and it is remarkable that the apparently simple work of these men develops so many wrong ways and right ways. A photograph reproduced in our picture section illustrates one of these practical methods.

The tractor drivers who operate the huge machines in the "model district" receive a course in motor mechanics equal to that given in automobile schools, and a duplicate of one of the tractor motors is installed in the class-room for that purpose.

While the officers are supposed to have learned all that the school can teach, yet, as a matter of fact, many of them are now using scientific methods with their men, so the district superintendents and foremen assemble once in a while to learn the latest improved methods. Usually a class numbers about forty men and the officers attend on certain days in groups of twenty-five.

Besides covering the practical, labor-saving details of street cleaning, the school aims to develop pride and ambition among the men by teaching them to respect their work, realize its importance, and strive for promotion. The idea of doing their task thoroughly and with the least possible annoyance to the public or obstruction of traffic is emphasized. Altogether the school for White Wings is a decided advance over the former method of letting the men learn by their mistakes.

RUSSIA, THE DEMOCRATIC

RUSSIA has vindicated the faith of her friends.

It has not been easy for lovers of freedom to keep on believing in Russia. It has been impossible for them to forget that she has been associated with such autocracies as Prussia and Austria in hostility to the rise of democracy in Europe. It has been impossible for them to ignore her Black Hundreds. It has been impossible for them to regard with indifference her *pogroms*, her Siberian exile system, her police espionage and censorship, her corrupt officialdom, her war on Japan, her inefficiency in government, her despotism. And some of those who have known her most intimately have distrusted her most profoundly. The Swedes, her near neighbors, remembering Finland, have feared her encroachments. The Jews, remembering Kishinev, have hated her tyranny. The Poles, remembering their own history, have been intimidated by her power. And when the world war broke out and Russia was found on the side of France and England, some of those who had distrusted her extended their distrust to include her allies. If this is, as has been claimed, a war between autocracy and democracy, how is it, they asked, that among those who are supposed to be fighting for democracy is to be found this land of the Czar?

Those, however, who believed that the real Russia was not the Russia of the bureaucracy and the Czar, but the Russia of the Russian people, held to their faith. Such as these believed that Russia was fighting side by side with the free peoples of France and England because that was where the real Russia belonged. And they were ready to give a reason for the faith that was in them.

This is their reason.

The real enemy of popular rights, of freedom, of civilization is what we have come to know as Prussianism. This is not only the doctrine, but the system established on the doctrine, that might, power, force, is the end and aim of the state. As Mr. Brown in his article in this issue points out, Prussianism by a slow process of great efficiency established itself in Germany. It was this same Prussianism that created and built up the autocracy and bureaucracy of Russia. But while Prussianism was establishing itself in the hearts of the people of Germany

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it did not touch the Russian people, but in Russia established itself only in the seats of the mighty. That is why those who have believed in Russia have kept their faith—because they know that, however much the Russian people's bodies and property have been controlled by Prussianism, they have never let it touch their mind and soul.

While, therefore, the German people have been learning to admire the Prussian State and all that it stands for, and have been docile in obedience to its rule, their intellectual leaders themselves being Prussia's most faithful defenders and advocates, the Russian people have been inspired by that same Prussianism only to continual revolt.

Now the Russian people have thrown this Prussianism out from the seats of the mighty, and have placed there their own natural democracy.

And with the overthrow of Prussianism in Russia there will come a new day not only for Russia, but for other peoples as well.

By the Revolution of the Russian people Sweden has been delivered of her fears. She can now give free play to her natural instinct for liberty, by joining with her sister, Norway, in giving moral support to the Entente Allies.

The Jews and the Poles the world over need no longer fear lest a victory for the free peoples of France and England may lead to a disaster for those Jews and Poles within Russia who are seeking to be free.

The neutral nations of the earth will now find removed the only moral reason that could justify their neutrality between right and wrong.

The Balkan peoples, who have found in even the Russia of the Czars an emancipator, will need to fear no longer the Czar's despotism; but can welcome any victory for Russia as bringing promise of freedom for themselves.

The people of the United States, in particular, will find at this crisis, when they are on the brink of war with Germany, a new cause for thankfulness that circumstance, indeed their very destiny, is placing them side by side with the free peoples of Europe—the people of Italy, and France, and England, and now Russia.

And, finally, even Germany herself will find in this Revolution of the Russian people not only retribution for her sins, but also possibly the gift of liberty for her people. The French Revolution, in spite of its excesses and the consequent reaction in France, was followed by the emancipation of neighboring peoples. It is not too much to hope, and even to expect, that the Russian Revolution may help to emancipate those peoples that now remain under the rule of the Prussian—the peoples of Germany and Austria.

STAND BY THE SUPREME COURT

We hear a good deal in these days of the duty of "standing by the President." It is also the duty of loyal Americans to stand by the Supreme Court. For the Supreme Court is even more, perhaps, than the President one of the great bulwarks of our National life and civilization. Indeed, its character and authority are so conclusively recognized that the American people do stand behind it in a very striking fashion.

In 1894 the majority of the American people wanted an income tax. The law was passed and put into operation, when the Supreme Court, by a majority of five to four, after one of the justices had reversed his decision, declared the law unconstitutional. The supporters of the tax accepted the decision without a murmur, and, after a campaign of education which lasted for nearly twenty-five years, amended the Constitution in that respect which the decision of the Court suggested so that the income law would be constitutional.

The power of the Supreme Court and its moral authority over the people of the United States has just been exemplified again in the decision on the Adamson Law. A brief review of the controversy which has resulted in this far-reaching decision is of interest.

In August, 1916, after a controversy lasting many months, the organized railway employees of the United States threatened a general strike unless their demand for increased wages and decreased hours of labor were complied with. The day of the strike was set. It was generally believed that, if carried out, it would involve the country, not only in Nation-wide social and economic disaster, but probably in bloodshed, and possibly in a kind of civil war. President Wilson endeavored to avert the strike by bringing the employees and the managers together. His efforts failed because the workmen declined either to yield any point of their demands or to submit the demands to arbitration. The President thereupon carried the matter to Congress, and Congress passed a law, known as the Adamson Law, making eight hours instead of ten hours the standard of pay and work. Under this law switchmen, yardmen, and all employees with fixed places of labor would work eight hours. Trainmen who do their work traveling would be paid at the same rate for eight hours as they had formerly been paid for ten hours. A test case was immediately brought by the railways into the lower courts. The Adamson Law was there decided to be unconstitutional and was carried to the Supreme Court. The organized railway workmen became restive under the delay. They again threatened to strike on March 17 if on that day no agreement had been reached. The President again intervened and appealed both to the men and to the managers to settle their differences on the ground that the country was facing the danger of war and that a universal railway strike would enormously complicate that danger. Another board of mediation endeavored to settle the difficulties. Secretary Lane, of the Department of the Interior, who was formerly a member of the Inter-State Commerce Commission, and is an expert on railway affairs, was a member of the mediation board. When March 17 approached, the organized workmen extended the time for an agreement forty-eight hours; and on the night of the 17th, or rather in the early morning hours of the 18th, a decision was reached because the managers agreed to adopt the eight-hour standard. The only concession of the men was to accept "time and one-eighth" instead of "time and one-half" overtime; that is to say, the man who is paid forty cents an hour would receive forty-five cents an hour instead of sixty cents an hour for overtime.

A few hours after the controversy had thus been settled by mutual agreement the Supreme Court handed down its decision, on March 19. Five justices upheld the constitutionality of the Adamson Law and four justices dissented. Chief Justice White and Justices McKenna, Holmes, Brandeis, and Clark were in the majority, and Justices Day, Pitney, Van Devanter, and McReynolds were in the minority. The majority opinion was presented by Chief Justice White. Reviewing the course of legislation and legal decisions, he held that Congress had full power to regulate inter-State commerce in all its phases, and that to take away the right of Congress to fix wages and conditions of labor would be to reduce to "derision" the clearly established power. He waved aside as not having even been presented the argument that the decision would result in confiscation of property without due process of law.

In considering the decision of the Supreme Court two things should be borne in mind. The first is that the judges who uphold the law express by their action no opinion regarding its wisdom. It was their duty to say whether Congress had a right to pass the law, not whether it was socially or economically wise for Congress to do so. Nevertheless, the psychological effect of the decision will be to impress the country with the belief that both the President and Congress pursued a wise course when a universal strike was threatened in September.

The second thing is that the decision greatly strengthens the principle of Government regulation. Public utilities of all sorts are not private property; they are semi-public property. Those who believe, as we do, that it will be wise to preserve in public utilities the element of private property, and thus the incentive to private profit, must support all efforts to maintain successfully the policy of Government regulation. Otherwise we shall inevitably have public ownership and operation of all public utilities.

If the workmen and the managers of American railways want Government ownership and operation, the best way they can accomplish it is to make a failure of Government regulation of private agreements. If they want to preserve their private rights, the best thing they can do is to make a success of the present semi-private relationships under Government control.

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HOLY RUSSIA

BY AMELIA JOSEPHINE BURR

The world shall be made new
Since thou hast found thy soul.
There shall be freedom for the Jew
And justice for the Pole.
Finland's chain shall break
As breaks the ice in spring,
And spirits like the birds awake
That were too sad to sing.

Throughout the troubled earth
Prophetic tremors run—
It is the travail of the birth
Of Freedom's youngest son.
Dreams that have been as dead
Rise glorious from their grave
As throb to a deliverer's tread
The pulses of the slave.

Torch of the Holy Fires,
Lead us along thy way
Up to the vision of our sires
That we have cloaked with clay!
Humbly we yield to thee
The glory of the van.
Lead on, where calls through liberty
The brotherhood of man!

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

THE HISTORY OF FOUR DAYS

WHEN river ice breaks up in the spring, it breaks suddenly. But the break comes only after a process of thawing, which may have been unnoticed by the casual observer of the flat upper surface. When people say that the Russian revolution came unexpectedly, they indicate that they have ignored the long undermining which gradually melted away the supports of the autocracy, so that when the Russian people struck they struck an empty shell.

Persons who are familiar with Russia have known since the beginning of this war that a revolution might come any day, and come with a suddenness characteristic of many movements in Russia. A comparison of the most stupendous event since the French Revolution with that revolution is interesting. There was much similarity in the superficial causes of the great French upheaval of 1789 and the revolt of the Russian people. The failure of the harvest of 1788 in France and the severe winter that followed caused poignant suffering and much smoldering antagonism for the existing political order. In Russia the scarcity of food brought about the great popular demonstrations which were the premonitory signs of the revolt. But in France just before the Revolution the Government was openly despised, its power flouted. In Russia, however, so far as surface indications to the outside world went, up to the time that men of the first Cossack regiment joined with the people they had been ordered to shoot on the Nevsky Prospect the Russian autocracy seemed almost as formidable as ever.

There were, to repeat, few indications of impending revolt in Russia to any but the most acute observers on the outside. Some suspicion might have been aroused by the bread riots in Petrograd the week before the revolution, but such occurrences are nothing new in Russia, and even in Petrograd on the morning of a day now never to be forgotten, Sunday, March 11, very few persons noticed any real revolutionary spirit in the crowds of people who taunted the police in the streets and good-naturedly cheered the Cossacks who had been ordered to disperse the crowds.

General Khabaloff's order to the police and soldiers to shoot in order to disperse crowds, which was posted on Saturday, March 10, smacked strongly of provocation, yet when the Cossacks refused to use their rifles and later when they fired nothing more deadly than blank cartridges from their machine guns the revolution still seemed a make-believe revolution. Not until the regiment of soldiers, ordered to shoot into a crowd of hungry civilians, mutinied and after shooting their own officers made common cause with the people did it seem probable that Russia's new birth was imminent.

In short, the world had little advance notice that a revolution was to come at this time, but had every reason to be sure that a revolution would come sooner or later unless the unexpected should happen and the Government should yield voluntarily. The anger of the people at the shortage of ammunition, which was caused by inefficiency and corruption in the Government, gradually grew when Russia was hampered again and again by this deficiency. The removal of Grand Duke Nicholas as Commander-in-Chief of the Russian armies, the arrogant treatment of the Duma by the Czar and his reactionary Ministers, and the appointment of such pro-Germans as Stürmer and Galitzin to the position of Premier, all goaded the people into a state of frenzy from which there could be only one outlet. Most of all were they aroused by the dawning belief that the lack of munitions, the removal of the Grand Duke Nicholas, the appointment of incapable and treacherous officials, were all parts of a pro-German propaganda headed, it seemed to many, by their Empress, and certainly by the notorious degenerate Rasputin, whose assassination recently should have warned the Government, if anything could have warned it.

Never did so great a revolution gain headway so rapidly. Regiment after regiment joined the people and fought with them against the few regiments which remained loyal and against the hated Petrograd police. By Monday morning, March 12, the situation in Petrograd was far beyond the control of the Government. A few hours later the revolution was virtually won and the Duma, in defiance of the Czar's ukase proroguing it, continued in session and telegraphed the Czar: "The hour has struck. The will of the people must prevail."

Michael Rodzianko, the President of the Duma, had

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previously twice telegraphed the Czar urging him to avert disaster by giving the people a Ministry which they could trust. General Alexis Brusiloff, Commander-in-Chief on the southwestern front, and General Nicholas Ruzsky, Commander of the northern armies, had both sent similar messages to the Czar at the request of the Duma. Perhaps but for his fatal characteristic of never yielding anything until too late, the Czar might have saved his crown by eleventh-hour concessions. Instead, by the time he reached Petrograd or its environs abdication was the only course that remained open. In his foolish stubbornness Nicholas II was like Louis XVI in 1789 and George III in 1776. Though the Czar abdicated in favor of his brother the Grand Duke Michael as Regent, the Grand Duke had no illusions as to his own position and hastened to announce that he would rule only if his selection as monarch were to be confirmed by a vote of the people.

The spark that was ignited in Petrograd carried a flaming enthusiasm for liberty and a new government over all Russia. In Moscow Cossacks who attempted to ride down the people in the celebrated Red Square beneath the gray old walls of the Kremlin leaped off their horses and joined in the huzzahs for the new Government when their intended victims shouted the news of the *coup d'état* in Petrograd.

In Moscow, it is said, the revolution cost only four lives; and even in Petrograd, where the bloodshed was greatest, the casualties were evidently surprisingly few. By the evening of March 12 the last supporters of the Czar in the capital were holding out in two small groups, one firing from behind barricades around the yellow Admiralty buildings overlooking the Neva, the other sniping stubbornly from the windows and roof of the Astoria Hotel at the revolutionaries, who sent back a hotter fire from such scant cover as could be found in the square south of St. Isaac's Cathedral. Later that evening, when the revolutionaries broke into the Astoria Hotel, which has been considered a hotbed of pro-German intrigue since the beginning of the war, the last organized resistance of the loyalists was broken. For two days more there was sniping. But at the outside the resistance to the revolution in Petrograd lasted not more than four days. Long before that time had expired the streets were filled with civilians and soldiers flaunting the red flag of the French Revolution and singing the "Marseillaise."

With a few exceptions, the army and navy of Russia stood loyal to the revolution from the first outbreak. The Executive Committee of the Duma, which practically became the Provisional Government of Russia when the Czar abdicated, restored order and began at once the work of adjustment with a force and comprehension that would have done credit to any government.

Sharing the power of government with this Committee is the new Cabinet, which is made up as follows: Premier, President of the Council, and Minister of the Interior, Prince George Lvoff; Foreign Minister, Professor Paul Milyukov; Minister of Public Instruction, Professor Manuilloff; Minister of War, and Minister of Navy, *ad interim*, A. J. Guchkoff; Minister of Agriculture, M. Shingáref; Minister of Finance, M. Tereshchenko; Minister of Justice, Deputy Kerenski, of Saratov; Minister of Communications, N. V. Nekrasoff; Vice-President of the Duma, Comptroller of State, M. Godneff; Minister of Trade and Commerce, A. I. Konovaloff; Procurator-General of the Holy Synod, M. Lvoff.

Apparently this Provisional Government as created by the Duma will rule Russia until the people through equal and universal suffrage choose a constituent assembly to determine the form of the new government.

One of the first acts of the Provisional Government was to pledge Russia's allegiance to the cause of the Allies and her unswerving determination to prosecute the war against Germany to a finish. In the meanwhile the late Czar, whom some despatches facetiously refer to as Mr. Nicholas Romanoff, has gone to his personal estates at Livadia, in the Crimea. The Empress apparently is still in or near Petrograd with her children, two of whom were ill when the outbreak came. It is significant that the Russian people seem to hold no personal grievance against their late autocrat, whereas enmity toward the Empress is common. But this is only a continuation of the situation which has existed since the beginning of the war, the Empress, who was a Princess of Hesse, being disliked as the supposed head of the ring which included Rasputin, ex-Premier Stürmer, and Protopopoff, who have been trying to betray Russia into a separate peace with Germany. The people seem to believe that the Czar, although both a weakling and a tyrant, is, after all, a Russian.

In conclusion, it remains to sum up the three outstanding characteristics of the Russian revolution as they appear to us:

First, as Mr. Kennan elsewhere points out, its apparent suddenness and its comparative peacefulness. The world may never know, certainly does not yet know, the whole inside story of the Russian revolution. There seems good evidence, however, to support the theory that there was not a widespread plan for the Russians to revolt when they did. There is a good deal of evidence indicating that even the members of the Duma and the three great popular leaders of the revolution, Rodzianko, Milyukov, and Lvoff, were surprised by the tremendous support which they found in the army. But the tighter the dam, the more complete its restraint of the waters within, the more abrupt and explosive is its bursting.

The second great feature of the revolution, which Mr. Kennan also refers to, is that it was won wholly and solely by the Russian people. It could not have succeeded without the help of the army, but the army of Russia to-day is an army of the people. The autocracy was destroyed by the very weapon which it built to keep the people in restraint. Not only was this a revolution of the people, however, but it seems to have been peculiarly a revolution of the *Russian* people in the narrow sense of the word. In America we have often heard of the grievances of the Poles, Jews, Armenians, Finns, and other racial groups within the Russian Empire. Espousers of the cause of these submerged nationalities have often said in America that the people that they represented had no hope of aid from the really Russian masses. But it is the millions of true Muscovites who have thrown off the oppressive yoke, and it is for the Poles, Finns, Jews, and Armenians now to admit that they have underestimated the power of the Russian masses. Such mistakes are easy in a land of contradictions so marked that even a Russian poet sings:

> "And poor
> And abundant
> And mighty
> And impotent
> Art thou, O our mother Russia!"

Finally, as to the third predominant feature of Russia's new birth, a feature in which the outside world is especially interested, that is this:

The war made this revolution possible.

The war taught the Russian people their own strength. United from the outset in the determination to beat Germany, because they realized that a war against Germany was a war against their own oppressive Government, the Russian people have gradually come to know one after another of their own powers as they have been forced to take over the management of the war through their provincial assemblies and co-operative societies as the inefficient and corrupt Government has dropped the burden. Without a long war like this, which has killed off the old professional army that was loyal to the bureaucracy, Russia never would have had an army of the people to side with the people in a national crisis.

We may be sure that the Russian people know what this war has done for them, and that they know what they must yet do in this war. A year ago—in fact, only recently—the Russian people were saying, "We have two wars on our hands, an outside war and an inside war. But we must vanquish the external enemy before we turn on the foe within. Beat Germany first." Only the stupid arrogance of the Russian Government brought it to pass that the Russian people did not "beat Germany first;" but now that they have reversed their task and conquered the internal foe, we may be sure that they will return to the other half of their labors with renewed confidence and vigor.

The preparations which the Russian people made toward the end of victory over Germany taught them their own strength, and were, in fact, measures which made the success of the revolution possible. There may not have been much plot behind this revolution, but certainly there was much preparation.

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THE VICTORY OF THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE

STAFF CORRESPONDENCE BY GEORGE KENNAN

It is unnecessary to introduce George Kennan to the older readers of The Outlook, for he has long been associated with this journal. But it may be well to say for the benefit of the younger generation that he is the foremost living American expert on the struggles of the Russians for constitutional liberty. He has faced death and danger in Russia in behalf of Russian freedom, and on his last visit to the country of the Czar, as an editorial representative of "McClure's Magazine," he was expelled by the absolutist Government which has now been overthrown. In 1865, when a very young man, he explored Siberia as a telegraphic engineer for the Russo-American Telegraph Line. In 1885 he traveled through Siberia making an investigation of the Siberian exile system. His experiences during these two remarkable studies of the Russian wilderness and the Russian despotism are recorded in two noteworthy books, "Tent Life in Siberia" and "Siberia and the Exile System." In 1904 he went to Japan to report the Russo-Japanese War for The Outlook, and lived under fire for some time in front of the citadel at Port Arthur. He also made an adventurous visit on behalf of The Outlook to Martinique at the time of the terrible and death-dealing eruption of Mont Pelée, and was our war correspondent in Cuba during the Spanish War. It will be seen, therefore, that he is a man of action as well as of thought. Mr. Kennan has a wide personal acquaintance with the best intellectual and political leaders in Russia, and, as he reads and speaks Russian, he is familiar with both its classic literature and its current journalism. His knowledge and his judgment of the currents and forces of Russian life are authoritative.—THE EDITORS.

THE struggle for freedom in Russia, which began with the revolutionary conspiracy of the Decembrists almost a century ago, and which was renewed again and again, with constantly increasing violence in later years, has ended at last in the complete triumph of democracy. For the first time in more than a millennium the Russian people are free from despotic control, and are at liberty to shape their future destiny with their own hands and in their own way. The monarch has been deposed, the bureaucracy has been overthrown, and the new rulers of the country are the Executive Committee of the Duma and the Ministry that it has chosen. The Provisional Government cannot yet be regarded as securely established, but the abdication of the Czar, the arrest and imprisonment of the bureaucratic leaders, and the frank recognition of the "plenary power" of the Duma by the Grand Duke Michael would seem to exclude the possibility, or at least the probability, of any serious internal dissension. There may be some friction or disagreement between the Provisional Government and the fraction of extreme radicals who favor the immediate establishment of a Socialistic republic; but the struggle over this question will probably be postponed until the National Assembly meets to decide what the permanent institutions of Russia shall be.

The most noteworthy feature of the recent revolution was its comparatively peaceful character. Seldom if ever before in the world's history has so sweeping and momentous a change been brought about with so little conflict, turbulence, and bloodshed. Revolutions in the past have generally lasted months if not years, have been attended with widespread rioting and disorder, and have cost thousands if not tens of thousands of lives; but the struggle that ended in Russia on the 17th of March occupied less than a week, there were no popular excesses, and the victory was won with a sacrifice of life that seems relatively insignificant.

What made the difference between this and previous revolutions? How was it possible to overthrow in four or five days and in such an orderly way a Government that was thought to be one of the strongest in Europe? In an article on "The Chances of Revolution" which I wrote for The Outlook about a year ago I ventured to say: "No revolutionary movement can possibly succeed in Russia without the co-operation of the army. It may have in its ranks nineteen-twentieths of the whole civilian population; but without military support it can accomplish nothing. Success will depend upon concentration of purpose, competent leadership, and the support of the army." In the revolutionary movement that has just swept the Czar from his throne all of these conditions were fulfilled. The Duma had for its sole purpose seizure of the reins of governmental power; it acted under direction of the best brains that the Empire could furnish; and it was supported by all the troops in the national capital, including even the Cossacks and the Imperial Guard. Success, under such favoring conditions, was almost certain.

The decisive factor in the struggle was unquestionably the army. The troops in Petrograd, recently recruited from the people, were in full sympathy with the latter's representatives in the Duma, and when the first clash came in the streets they threw off their allegiance to the crown, joined in the revolutionary movement, and chased the Czar's police and gendarmes to the housetops. Even the Cossacks, who had been employed so many times in previous years to crush the first manifestations of incipient revolt, fraternized with the insurgents and defended them from the attacks of the police. The Duma, with such support, became not only formidable but irresistible. It immediately ordered the arrest and imprisonment of the reactionary leaders, as a means of preventing such a counter-revolution as that which defeated the people in 1905; took into custody all the higher officials of the Government, including the Ministers, and completely paralyzed in less than three days all the energies and activities of the bureaucratic administration. The progress of the revolutionary movement in the provinces was equally rapid and successful. In Moscow, Tver, Nizhni-Novgorod, Kazan, Kharkof, Saratof, and Odessa the local representatives of autocracy submitted, almost without resistance, to the will of the people, and on Saturday, March 17, when the Czar abdicated, the Duma was left in full control of the situation.

During the brief interregnum there was comparatively little disorder and still less bloodshed, the people displaying throughout the trying week "amazing courage, patience, and sound sense." The Executive Committee of the Duma, too, acted with praiseworthy moderation and self-restraint. When the bureaucracy, under the direction of Prime Minister Stolypin, put down the insurrection of 1905–6, it immediately shot scores of revolutionary leaders without even the form of trial, and hanged more than two thousand by order of military courts. The Provisional Government of the Duma showed a more chivalrous and magnanimous spirit. It did not order the execution of a single one of its vanquished opponents, and gave public notice that no official of the old régime should be punished, much less put to death, until he had had a fair trial before a legally constituted tribunal.

The Provisional Government which now rules Russia, and which will continue to rule until a constitutional assembly shall have decided upon permanent institutions, is composed of very strong and able men. Rodzianko, who is at the head of the Executive Committee, is President of the Duma and has long enjoyed the confidence, not only of the body over which he presides, but of the country at large. He is prudent, sagacious, and experienced, and may be trusted to use his power with wise discretion.

Prince Lvoff, the new Premier, is a man of great administrative and executive capacity, who since the beginning of the war has been at the head of the strongest popular organization in the Empire, namely, the Union of Zemstvos. This powerful body, acting in conjunction with the Union of Municipalities, has been for more than two years the mainstay of the Russian armies, and has carried on a colossal work in establishing hospitals, supplying the troops with food, clothing, and munitions, and succoring millions of refugees driven back into the interior of Russia by the advancing forces of Germany. Up to October, 1916, it had established more than 3,000 military hospitals or *lazarets*, with accommodations for 200,000 men; had provided 50 hospital trains, with 22,000 berths, for the transportation of sick or wounded soldiers; had furnished food for 300,000 laborers engaged in work behind the trenches; had spent 7,000,000 rubles in taking care of destitute fugitives from the western provinces; had established in the rear of the fighting

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mes a thousand-mile chain of vaccination stations, disinfecting stations, tuberculosis stations, bath-houses, laundries, dental cabinets, small manufactories, shoe-cobbling booths, and soldiers' shops; and had supplied the armies in the field with 3,000,000 tents and more than 35,000,000 articles of clothing, at a cost of 125,000,000 rubles. This gigantic work—which shows incidentally what the carrying on of a great war involves—was under the supervisory and controlling direction of Prince Lvoff, the new Russian Premier.

Professor Milyukov, Minister of Foreign Affairs, is the fearless and aggressive leader of the Constitutional Democrats, who forced the retirement a few months ago of the reactionary and pro-German Premier, Sturmer. Milyukov is so well known in the United States that it is hardly necessary to give his record. He is a scholar of distinction, an eminent historian, an effective speaker and an accomplished linguist, and few men surpass him in knowledge of the international relations and the diplomacy of Europe.

Guchkoff, the Minister of War (and temporarily of the Navy), was long a member of the Duma and was at one time its presiding officer. He belongs to the strong party of the Center known as the Octobrists, and, although he has no special or technical knowledge of military affairs, he is a skillful organizer and a man of conspicuous all-around ability.

Tereshchenko, the Minister of Finance, is one of the most influential and best-informed members of the Duma Finance Committee, and is pre-eminently qualified for the post that he is to fill.

Shingáref, the Minister of Agriculture, is a Constitutional Democrat, a distinguished political economist, and a recognized authority on all questions relating to food, finance, and taxation. He will probably have to deal with the high cost of living and the problém of food distribution, and is almost ideally qualified to do this successfully.

Professor Manuilloff, Minister of Public Instruction, was formerly President of the Moscow University, but he was forced out by the reactionary Minister of Public Instruction, Kasso, and has since been editor-in-chief of the "Russkiya Vedomosti," one of the oldest liberal journals in Moscow.

Kerenski, the Minister of Justice, is the leader of the Labor group in the Duma, and has been for years an uncompromising opponent of the whole bureaucratic régime. He has been particularly conspicuous as a denouncer of the severity and injustice of the courts in their dealings with labor organizations and free-thinking workmen. He is a Socialist in political faith, and will bring to the Provisional Government the co-operation and support of the Social Democratic party.

The Ministry, as a whole, is moderate rather than extreme in its political views, and may be said fairly to represent the flower of Russian knowledge, experience, and culture. Most of its members have, in the Duma debates on the annual budgets, shown expert knowledge of governmental problems, and it may well be doubted whether Russia has ever had in the Council of Ministers so able and experienced a group of men. The task set before them is one of extraordinary difficulty and complexity, but if they are not confronted by some sudden and threatening emergency before they have had time to consolidate their power they will give the country a brilliant and successful administration of public affairs.

The most important question raised by this change of government, so far as the outside world is concerned, is the effect that it will have on the prosecution of the war. The fear has been expressed that it may weaken, temporarily at least, Russia's offensive and defensive power. That there will be some friction and lack of co-ordination at first is more than probable; but ultimately the war will be carried on with greatly increased vigor and effectiveness. The hopeless incapacity of the old Government disheartened the people and half paralyzed their energies; but with the Duma and the new Ministry in full control of national affairs, public confidence will revive and enthusiasm will take the place of discouragement. The Russia of the people never has been able to bring all its forces into action, but now that it is free it will make a new record of heroic achievement. Nobles, peasants, zemstvos, boards of trade, chambers of commerce, and co-operative societies will all combine and co-ordinate their efforts in support of the Duma, the Ministry, and the armies in the field. Germany may gain a temporary advantage if she strikes quickly, while Russia is in a state of transition from the old to the new; but the *rasputitsa*—the breaking up of the winter roads—is now near at hand, and this will greatly embarrass offensive military operations on all the fronts. Before the spring floods pass and the swamps and marshy fields become dry and hard the new Government will have organized and consolidated its power and will be prepared for any thrust that Germany may make.

One of the most serious problems with which the new Government will have to deal is that of food distribution. Russia is not short of grain; on the contrary, she has an available surplus above all needs of at least four million tons; but, on account of bad management and divided responsibility in the Ministries of Agriculture and the Interior and incompetence and corruption in the railway administration, there has been great difficulty in moving foodstuffs from places where they were abundant to places where there was a shortage. Remembering the important part played by railway men in the revolutionary movement of 1905, the Government in recent years has adopted the policy of discharging experienced but "politically untrustworthy" employees and appointing in their places, as far as possible, petty bureaucrats from the provinces and "loyal" men from the ranks of the Black Hundreds. This has resulted in the partial demoralization of the railway service at the very time when national safety required the utmost possible efficiency. This state of affairs will soon be remedied by M. Nekrasoff, the new Minister of Ways and Communications, and there is every reason to believe that when the railway system is as well managed as the Union of Zemstvos has been, its carrying capacity will be very greatly increased and possibly doubled.

Viewed in its larger aspects, the change of government will bring about in the near future a complete regeneration of the people. Within the space limits of a short article it is impossible to do more than refer briefly to a few of the reforms that are likely to be made and measures that will probably be adopted. In the first place, there will be a great and rapid extension of educational facilities for the peasant class. The old Government did not provide elementary schools enough even to keep up with the growth of the population, and consequently the percentage of illiteracy is almost as great now as it was twenty-five years ago. The present Ministry and the liberal majority in the Duma are virtually pledged to secure "universal education," and the new schools required will be opened as fast as possible.

In the second place, an end will quickly be put to anti-Jewish restrictions and limitations. The Pale of Settlement will be abolished, and Jews henceforth will enjoy all the rights of citizenship. One hundred and sixty members of the present Duma asked the old Government to abolish the Pale, and future Dumas are likely to be even more tolerant and broad-minded than this one has recently been. When the Jews are fully emancipated, as they almost certainly will be, every field of Russian life is likely to be enriched by the efforts and contributions of this gifted race.

In the third place, Finland, whose ancient liberties were taken from her and whose Diet was almost deprived of legislative power by a faithless monarch, will again receive the autonomous rights granted her by Alexander I a century ago.

Finally, the Russian revolution in its relation to the welfare and progress of the world seems likely to be an almost unmixed blessing. Not only will it sow the seeds of democracy in other despotically governed countries, but it will add greatly to the world's material and intellectual resources. Under the despotic régime of the bureaucracy, Russian literature has recently been almost choked to death by the strangling noose of the censorship; but when the novelists, essayists, and poets of the present generation shall be set free there will be a new flowering of national culture. The Slavs, moreover, have moral as well as intellectual power; and when their latent capacities are fully developed by freedom and education they will not only make great contributions to science, literature, and the industrial arts, but will exert an uplifting and ennobling influence in the realm that we call spiritual.

New York, March 20, 1917.

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JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES

IT is apparent to everybody but the stupid or thoughtless that there are many points of contact between the United States and Japan which produce friction and irritation. It behooves both Japanese and American citizens who desire to see friendly relations maintained between the two countries to look the facts squarely in the face. The American difficulties with Japan arise almost wholly on the Pacific coast, and especially in California. The trouble there is largely what is known as labor trouble. The Japanese in California are peculiarly industrious and thrifty. They not only compete successfully with American laborers in the cities, but they have become landowners and have made profitable and beautiful fruit orchards and farms out of a very large acreage which white farmers either could not or would not develop. This competition between the two races has led to an agitation for the restriction of Japanese immigration and the practical expulsion of Japanese landowners from California. Those who are familiar with the controversy know how patiently and earnestly the Japanese Government has striven to do its part in solving the problem. As Dr. Sidney Gulick, one of the foremost experts of Japanese questions in this country, says: "The Pacific coast States fear an invasion of Asiatic immigrants, and rightly demand protection from such a danger. The problem is how to provide for both—how to protect the Pacific coast without resorting to race discriminatory legislation, obnoxious to Asiatics because humiliating."

The Japanese who are now legally residing on the Pacific coast have rights as residents and landholders which cannot, under the moral law at least, be taken away from them by prejudiced and discriminatory legislation. But, on the other hand, Japan must recognize that, with one complicated and perplexing race problem always on its hands, the United States cannot wisely or in justice to its citizens permit itself to be involved in another. During the Administration of President Roosevelt this was recognized by both countries in the establishment of what is known as the "Gentleman's Agreement." President Roosevelt maintained with all the power at his command the treaty rights of the Japanese already in this country, with the understanding that the Japanese Government would itself so regulate emigration from Japan to the Pacific coast as to relieve inhabitants of the Pacific coast from the fear of a social or industrial invasion. Japan has scrupulously kept her part of the "Gentleman's Agreement." But during the Administration of President Wilson anti-Japanese agitation and legislation has cropped out again on the Pacific coast. The problem is not a local one. It is a National one, and it must be settled by the Nation.

Believing this necessary, two important bodies of American citizens have recently passed resolutions and presented them to the President and the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate. The two bodies are the Conference on American Oriental Problems and the Federal Council of Churches. Each body passed a resolution calling for Federal legislation to provide for the adequate protection of aliens, and both bodies passed a resolution calling for the creation of a Federal commission for the study of the international problem of the relations of America with Japan and China. The Federal Council of Churches also in resolutions embodied a declaration of friendship and good will from America to Japan and China, and called upon the press of the United States for a more sympathetic and intelligent treatment of the American-Japanese question than has, we are sorry to say, been characteristic of many of our newspapers. Of these resolutions the one asking for the creation of a Federal commission seems to us to be of paramount importance at this time. The United States is facing one of the greatest crises in its entire history. Its relation to the whole world, as the President recently pointed out in his address to the Senate, is likely to be radically changed. In view of these world changes, nothing perhaps is more important than the establishment of right relations between the United States and the Orient.

Whatever is done, the treaty obligations of the United States to Japan must be faithfully observed and sustained by all loyal Americans. The Japanese themselves have had some striking education on the inviolability of treaty obligations.

In 1864, by treaty with the Shogunate of Japan, the foreign Powers, including the United States, obtained the right to pass through the inland sea of Japan. The clans controlling the western entrance to the inland sea declined to recognize the treaty or to obey the Shogunate. When the foreign Powers, including the United States, protested, the Shogunate said apologetically that it had not the power to compel obedience on the part of these clans; whereupon the Western Powers, including the United States, proceeded with their war-ships and bombarded the territory of the recalcitrant clans, compelling them to observe the treaty and exacting an indemnity of about three million dollars. The United States gave back its portion of the indemnity to Japan in 1883, the money, at the suggestion of Marquis Okuma, being used for the improvement of Yokohama Harbor. This story is known to every intelligent citizen of Japan. It has produced two effects. One is to make him friendly to the United States on account of the return of the indemnity; the other is to make him feel that when a local group or government declines to obey a national mandate it can be compelled to obey by force exercised by the foreign Powers. Perhaps it is not fair to say that the Japanese feel that they have the power to resent by force the breaking of a treaty on the Pacific coast, but they feel that the precedents of American history justify them in claiming the moral right to compel the observance of the treaty.

There is another aspect of the Japanese question which it is appropriate to refer to here. If the Japanese Government desires to have the support of liberal-minded American citizens in maintaining the rights of the Japanese in this country, it must show a liberal mind towards its own citizens at home. Unfortunately, the present Japanese Government is very reactionary and the Prime Minister, Terauchi, is distinctly autocratic. There is a strong party in Japan, with which the Terauchi Cabinet seems to be in sympathy, that believes in the social and military principles of Prussian civilization. The Japanese Liberal party is opposed to these principles. One of the leading Liberals of Japan is Mr. Daikichiro Tagawa. He is one of the highest-minded and most public-spirited men in Japan. He has been for ten years a member of Parliament, was for six years Vice-Mayor of Tokyo, and was adviser to the Minister of Justice on parliamentary matters during the two years of the Okuma Cabinet. He has recently published three articles in three different Japanese periodicals criticising certain tendencies in Japan. In one of these articles, among other things, he said:

> On October 4 of last year [1916] Count Terauchi obeyed the Imperial commands and formed a new Cabinet; but previous to that time it was generally understood that he would be chosen as Premier. The report originated with the Elder Statesmen [the reactionary party in Japan]. They had privately decided beforehand that Terauchi should be the man, and took it as a foregone conclusion that the Emperor would accept any one whom they should recommend, and that their decision, which left no room for discrimination, concession, or change, was nothing less than the Imperial decision itself. Such being the case, the whole Empire recognizes that the Terauchi Cabinet was formed by the Elder Statesmen rather than by the Imperial commands. By such means it is futile to think that the people can be made to respect the Imperial House. In fact, it must be said with regret that the dignity of the Imperial House has been not a little impaired by such proceedings.
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> It is said that when the Asquith Government resigned a short time ago King George first of all called upon Bonar Law to form a new Cabinet, and upon his declining to do so he called upon Lloyd George. But no one knows with whom the King consulted or whether he consulted with any one before calling on these two men. A certain English historian commends highly the action of Queen Victoria, who, upon the resignation of Gladstone, called upon Lord Rosebery to form a Cabinet, although Gladstone was desirous to recommend Lord Spencer had his advice been asked. In all probability, neither did King George consult with any one, but upon his own initiative called on those men to form a Cabinet. The world acknowledges the effectual working of the English political system, and the fact that the dignity of the constitutional mon-

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urch is upheld thereby. Which, I wonder, shows to better advantage in the world's eyes, the dignity of the Japanese monarchy at the time of the recent change of Cabinet, or of the British monarch after a similar event in England?

Now to an American or an Englishman this kind of political ticism is not only permissible but commendable. It is clearly t a criticism of the Emperor, but of the Cabinet. Nevertheless the Terauchi Government has brought against Mr. Tagawa criminal charge of impairing the dignity of the Imperial ouse, that is to say, he is accused of committing what is led in Prussia, for similar political criticism, *lèse-majesté*. ie Government prosecutor has asked for a sentence of ten months in prison for Mr. Tagawa. The fact that he has been a Christian for twenty-eight years and for many years an elder in a Christian church is apparently not in his favor in the eyes of the Terauchi Government.

Such a prosecution of such a man for such words is wholly unmodern, un-American, un-Anglo-Saxon, and, it must be added with gratitude to-day, un-Russian. It is a kind of intellectual despotism which has led to the fall of the Czar, and is rapidly leading to a similar fall of the Prussian theory and system of government. Does Japan want to take her place with a dead Russian and dying German despotism or with the modern and rapidly growing systems of constitutional political liberty?

CONGRESS AND THE PROTECTION OF BIRDS

SOME REMARKS IN THE HALL OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ON BEHALF OF AN UNREPRESENTED CONSTITUENCY

F the song birds of this country had a vote, we believe they would unanimously support as their Representative in Congress the Hon. Edmund Platt, of Poughkeepsie, New York. uring the last twelve months Mr. Platt has made some very lightful speeches on the floor of the House of Representatives in half of the birds. They are not the only living beings upon this atinent that he desires to protect, for he is also a strong supporter of prompt, active, and vigorous measures on the part of e President and the Government in the protection of American izens and American rights. But it is pleasant in these strenuous times to find a member of Congress who is familiar from rsonal observation with bird life, and it is interesting to see at Mr. Platt's colleagues recognize his knowledge, common nse, and good judgment in these matters. In a recent discussion Congress on an appropriation for the maintenance of bird d game reservations, Mr. Mann, of Illinois, the leader of the publicans in the House, said: "Mr. Chairman, I was to ve five minutes, and I ask that the gentleman from New York, r. Platt, be recognized in my stead. He knows more about ds than all the rest of us." What Mr. Platt said in reply we nk interesting enough to print in full, as follows:

"Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman from Illinois for ing me his time and for his complimentary words in regard my knowledge of birds. It is not nearly as extensive as it ght be. I want to say, though, that there is quite a good deal confusion of mind over the migratory bird law. It does not ply to quail, or to grouse, or to prairie chickens, or to many er birds that are not migratory. Quail, as I understand it, y rarely fly more than ten or twelve miles from home. That according to the testimony of those who know most about that d. The migratory bird law applies only to birds which nest one part of North America and make their winter homes in other part of North America, or many of them in South erica or Central America. How those birds can be considd to be the property of anybody over whose land they happen fly, or where they happen to spend the night resting, when y go on the next day, I do not, for my part, understand. arly all the migratory game birds nest in Canada, and the nadians could destroy the whole lot of them, except a very that nest along our northern border, if they wanted to so.

"The insectivorous birds, the warblers, and smaller birds, a eat many of them, also nest in Canada, though many, of course, st in the United States. A considerable number of our birds nd their winters in South America, and most of the routes migration have been mapped out. We know now almost ctly what routes many of them follow, how they get to South erica, and where they winter when they get there. There are few common birds which seem to disappear in the winter. r instance, the common chimney-swift is a bird whose winter ne has never been found. It goes down to the coast of the Gulf of Mexico and flies off over the Gulf and nobody knows what becomes of it. Even our friend Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, who has explored South America, has never been able to find the winter home of the chimney-swift there. It goes off in that direction somewhere and disappears as completely as if it dropped into the sea. There are several other such mysteries as that, but as to a great many birds it is known just where they go and just when they come and when they go. There are some three or four hundred people throughout the United States who are reporting to the Biological Survey the dates of the arrival and departure of the birds every year, so that the Biological Survey is able, through these voluntary observers, to keep track of our useful birds, and the speed they make, and some very interesting things have been worked out from these reports by the late Professor Cooke.

"As I have said, migratory game birds mostly nest in Canada, and Canada could destroy them all. They do not belong to us. They fly over the United States. Many of them winter along the Gulf, and there are some bird reservations where they get a certain almost complete protection. It is the testimony of everybody who has watched the matter that certain of these wild fowl and game birds have increased considerably since the passage of the migratory bird law, and that is true also of a good many of the smaller birds. During last summer, for instance, in my part of the country a great many of the people became interested in birds, because for the first time they saw the scarlet tanager, a beautiful, bright-colored bird, which looks almost tropical in the colors of its plumage. That bird began to appear in the cities. People had never seen it before. A number of people called me up on the telephone to know what that bright-colored bird was which they saw in the streets. It is a bird that was rarely seen in the streets before, although not uncommon in the country. Its numbers have undoubtedly increased considerably during the past year. It is a bird probably that used to be shot for its plumage on account of its brilliancy of color. Unless some migratory bird law is enforced, a great many of our birds will become extinct. While they spread over a very large territory in the summer, in the winter some of them mass together so that they can be killed very easily, almost without shooting them. They are dependent upon the migratory law and upon bird sanctuaries for protection. As the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Mann] indicated, a treaty has recently been negotiated with Canada, a bird migration treaty, by which Canada agrees to protect the birds at nesting time in the north and the United States agrees to protect them as they fly over and as they may stop on our territory to winter. It seems to me common sense and good judgment that the legislation the treaty will need should be carried out, and must appeal to everybody. It is impossible, it seems to me, that the Supreme Court can find it unconstitutional."

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THE TWO GERMANYS

BY PAUL W. BROWN

THE European war has set many a problem for American thought, but none at once so insistent and so baffling as the coexistence in one people at one time of the qualities and defects which present themselves in Germany.

Let us look at the two Germanys. The one is the Germany of efficiency, of enterprise, of the life of the spirit, of good will among men and joy to little children. Without invoking the existence of any other Germany, the problems and marvels of this one are sufficiently bewildering. Here is a people pre-eminent alike in the reclamation of waste lands and in speculative philosophy. The Germans write the best-organized symphonies and produce the best-organized steamship companies. We turn to them for fairy tales for children and for works on bacteriology for physicians. They stand first in the collection of the hymns of the ancient Aryans, and in the collection of city rubbish as well. They teach us how to organize hospitals and nourish foreign trade, to plan cities and organize rural credit banks, to make toys and social surveys. We in America, with our young civilization and unsymmetrical development, have been specially dazzled in contemplating Germany. Our achievements have had the exuberance and one-sidedness of the exploits of youth; they have been a series of brilliant *tours de force*—"stunts," in the vernacular. We have worked prodigiously and shirked prodigiously; we have been economical, and at the same time wasteful of a National patrimony of unexampled richness, while Germany's progress has had "the steady persistence of a screw" and the symmetry of an athlete's torso.

The other Germany sees in sacred agreements "mere scraps of paper." This Germany sank the Lusitania in violation of the laws of humanity and the treaties governing the security of ships at sea, burned the Library at Louvain, destroyed the Cathedral at Rheims, executed Edith Cavell, and sends Zeppelins to assassinate grandmothers by the chimney-corner, invalids in bed, and little children on the way to school. This Germany brings forward men eminent in all walks of life, even to the pastor with gown and bands, the professor beside his desk, and the statesman before the Reichstag—not to excuse these things, but to avow and defend them.

As a result, we have developed two groups of commentators upon Germany and things German. There are those to whom German virtues and services to mankind are non-existent. In view of outrages and wrongs, all Germany's achievements are merely demonic shows of cunning to entrap victims and delude a world for whom the real Germany lies in wait, and every great German leader is "that *monstrum horrendum*, an unprincipled man of genius." Another and much smaller group idealizes everything, sees all that Germany does as right because she does it, and frankly recognizes two moral codes—one for ordinary relations of life, and the other for certain peoples in diplomacy and war. A third group of people frankly gives up the entire problem; there is no answer, so why think about it at all? Why try to reconcile von Tirpitz and Papa Jahn, Schleiermacher and Bismarck, Virchow and Bernhardi? How can the same people be at once the chief minister of mercy to the diseased, of vigor to the well, of comfort to dwellers in cities, of prosperity to the tiller of the soil, of efficiency to the organization of business, of intellectual pleasure to the philosopher, of emotional exaltation to the lover of great music; and of duplicity in the field of diplomacy, even to the extent of bringing on war by forgery, of lawlessness in international agreement, of cruelty and barbarity in war?

The answer lies in the history of that Kingdom whose peculiar genius gave birth to the German Empire—Prussia. It affords at once the most conspicuous and most tragic instance in modern history of the price which a people may be called upon to pay for a great constructive social idea when, instead of growing by slow development in the popular mind and being forged into workable form by experiment and criticism, it is born full size in the mind of a genius who chances to have power to put it into practice without consulting anybody but himself.

More than two hundred years ago the supreme genius which Prussia has thus far produced, born—of all places in the world—in the King's palace, came to the throne as Frederick William the second King of Prussia. He was not only one of the few great administrators who have headed nations, he was one of the great constructive economists of all time. If he had been a teacher or a minister of state under any monarch of his own generation or the one preceding, his revolutionary ideas in the economic field would have produced relatively little immediate effect in the realm of human practice, but would have had a slow yet sure influence in modifying thought, and would finally have borne fruit in the field of action. But he happened to be born to the headship of an absolute monarchy erected over a peculiarly receptive and docile people. Now the scholar's ideas reap a maximum of discussion and a minimum of practice; the King's ideas are acted on rather than discussed. This King embodied all his governmental ideas at once in practice, without stooping to discuss them with anybody.

Frederick William had the conventional political and military philosophy of the century—the seventeenth—which ended a few years before he became King. But his economic philosophy was a full two hundred years ahead of his time. Being a born administrator and an absolute monarch, he turned all his ideas—new and old—at once into policies. The economic policies resulting began at once to bear fruit, and fruit of a kind which not only enriched and strengthened his country, but headed off in Prussia the kind of democratic intellectual movement which in France and in the English colonies was the most significant thing brought forth by the eighteenth century, giving rise to our Government and to the French Revolution. Prussia was saved from a political revolution at the end of the eighteenth century because she had had a bloodless one-man-power economic revolution at the beginning of it. Prussia was growing richer, more powerful, more homogeneous, during those pregnant years in which France was growing poorer, weaker, more faction-torn, and the American colonies were passionately questioning kingly assumptions. As a result—to anticipate in a word the end of the discussion—Prussia, so far ahead of the rest of the world in her practical economic philosophy has brought down into the twentieth century, has imposed on Germany, and has sought to impose on the world, a government and a philosophy of government in which the most enlightened conceptions of economic welfare and efficiency are mingled with ideas of international relations and the ethics of war which were standards in times when prisoners were examined by torture, captured cities turned over to armies for loot and pillage, and truthfulness reckoned by statesmen as much a private virtue as meekness.

Frederick William's economic philosophy shaped itself in his active mind in the days when all the ambitions of princes centered upon the kind of national greatness which vindicates and extends itself by war. The greatest genius cannot escape from the limitations of his own age; so Frederick William's wonderful understanding of the economic basis of national greatness took shape as a military policy sustained by economic foundations. It may be stated thus: That wars are won, not by armies, but by nations; that soldiers are only weapons with which people fight; that a military preparedness supported by universal industry and thrift and by the most rigid economy in administration lies at the base of all military effectiveness.

How far beyond his time this Hohenzollern King was may be judged by the fact that the economic principles which he began to act upon on the day the breath left the body of his father have only within the past year been embodied in the defensive legislation of the United States.

Here was Frederick William's problem: He was King of a poor country, with much thin and sandy soil, backward in manufacture and trade, compassed by powerful enemies, and wholly without physical frontiers susceptible of easy defense. The greatest country on the European Continent was France—

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tertile, rich, prosperous, a leader in the industrial arts, maintaining a Court which was a center of luxury and splendor. What hope was there for Prussia between the might of France and the pride of Austria?

Frederick William had his answer ready. France was rich and prosperous, but luxurious and idle. Her kings were wasters, her Court a center of extravagance and profligacy. Expenditures for the public good which were but reasonable were so augmented by graft and corruption that the resulting burden on the peasant bowed his shoulders. A paralysis of the effectiveness of government resulting from the condoning of graft and the multiplying of useless offices threatened the perpetuity of the nation. The French kings had forgotten the common people; in process of time the common people would forget them. The hope of the future was in a land, poor in soil it might be, and backward in the arts, whose King should be a father to his people and not an extravagant pensioner upon them, whose government should be managed as economically as any household in the land, whose officials should be for use and not for show, whose first concern should be the goodness of harvests, the drainage of swamps, the reclamation of waste lands, the planting of thrifty colonists where their example should instruct the backward and the ignorant. That army would be irresistible whose soldiers and officers should know no preferment except through merit, whose regiments should be defenders of the homes and home-makers of the nation.

This wonderful man cut off the lackeys and pages of the Court before his father had been dead half an hour; he kept three pages at ten thalers a month, without board, and thirty horsemen instead of a thousand. He sold jewels to support new regiments and pay debts. He paid excise duties on his own goods, like the humblest subject; he was busy at five o'clock in the morning over accounts, for he believed that "rulers are put there for the purpose of working." He originated the budget system; there was to be no expenditure without a previous estimate. He docked an official six months' salary for absence of a day from work. He originated a central system of control over official activities, accounts, and expenditures which revolutionized the administration of the Kingdom. He was busy with questions of marketing, of industrial efficiency, of the securing of desirable immigrants from foreign countries, of public works. And as the country grew in economic power and in stored wealth he delighted to lavish his increasing revenues on larger and larger schemes for military development, whose every detail —except in the single instance of his costly corps of giants— was carried out with exemplary economy.

The dearest thing to Frederick William's heart was his army. His watchword might have been: "Thrift and industry everywhere, from King's palace to peasant's cot, in order to achieve irresistible military power."

The King reigned twenty-seven years, and his work of reorganizing the business and industry of the Kingdom began on the first day of his reign and went on to the last. These were, in the main, years of peace. Frederick William's son, Frederick the Great, came to the throne with all his father's ability and a deep devotion to his father's economic military policies. He ripened the harvest of the seed his father sowed, and he reigned for forty-six years. It was he who advanced Frederick William's great idea from theory to absolute demonstration. He proved, in campaigns whose successes have dazzled the imagination of mankind for a century and a half, that wars are won by nations and that armies are but instruments; and that a poor nation, thrifty, industrious, and well administered, can conquer peoples richer and more fortunate, but weakened in fighting power by waste in government and luxury in public and private life.

Frederick William created his economic policies, but the greatest genius cannot create a whole new world; he dipped his social and military ethics and his diplomatic ideas from the stream of his time. The early eighteenth century was an age of brute force in government and of lying in diplomacy; good faith was as rare a virtue among eighteenth-century statesmen as gentleness was among eighteenth-century pirates. It was the age of secret agreements which nullified treaties signed, sealed, and delivered before all men; of outrageous violations of every principle of neutrality; of the deliberate dismemberment of the living bodies of nations to gratify the lust of tyrants; of world politics which had never even heard of such a thing as popular right. Those who doubt this may be reminded of the black treachery of England to her allies after Malplaquet; the Seckendorf intrigues at Berlin, carried on for Austria's benefit; the partition of Poland; and, in the nineteenth century, England's destruction of the fleet of Denmark, a friendly and neutral Power. Germany's military policy of force and frightfulness to-day is no new thing; it is merely a survival. It may be matched, detail for detail, from the histories of England, France, and Austria in the eighteenth century.

During this century, in France and in the English colonies especially, the mind of mankind began fiercely to question the right of kings to oppress peoples. This was no mere intellectual movement; in fact, men do not think unless they have to. But burdened men and wronged men, seeking liberty and freedom, naturally look everywhere for help. Among other possible sources they turn to theories of government and of popular right. Among the fruits of this process were the American Revolution of 1776, the theories and discussions of the French statesmen and scholars known as the "men of 1789," and the French Revolution.

All this did not touch Prussia. Why? Because it was simply a movement induced by the failure of government to achieve general welfare, and in this Prussia's Government had not failed. In the pragmatic sense, absolutism "worked" in Prussia. No wonder the French peasantry were dissatisfied; they struggled against deepening poverty, caused by increasing burden of taxation to support a wasteful Government. What was that to the Prussian tillers of the soil, whose Government set an example in thrift and frugality to the most careful farmer in the land? Every month that passed bore overpowering testimony to the wisdom of the Prussian kings and of their policy of governmental frugality and efficiency; every month witnessed the folly of rulers whose people grew seditious because they were hungry and despised their rulers simply because they were despicable.

We know that Prussia was politically the victim of a happy accident. We know that her wonderful growth and development between 1713 and 1786 did not prove that absolutism was a good thing; it simply proved that for once in human history two geniuses in economic administration happened successively to occupy a throne in a critical hour in the development of a people. But the Prussians could not be expected to understand this. They felt that their increasing prosperity and contentment during the very three-quarters of a century which increased poverty and discontent in France were the result partly of the superiority of their governmental methods and partly of the superiority of sensible Germans to flighty Frenchmen—just as you and I should have felt in their place.

When French political ideas finally touched Prussia, they did not come as suggestions to the Prussian mind, they came as peril to the Prussian state. They came, finally, incarnate in Napoleon. How impossible it was that the Prussians should see in him anything which represented progress, which stood for an advance beyond their own position! Part of what we may call Napoleonism was familiar to them. The Corsican codified the laws, as Frederick William had done. He stood for the construction of great public works and for the selection of officials for effectiveness, and these had been watchwords of Prussian administration for one hundred years. They might have been stolen from Frederick William. The constructive side of Napoleonism Prussia had long been familiar with; its destructive side Prussia attributed to impious and pernicious ideas of liberty and equality—diseases of the mind induced by the revolt of an unhappy people against a government which had forgotten the first lessons of efficiency and a line of kings which had forgotten that *noblesse oblige*.

The French people were not democratic in their theories of government in the beginning of the nineteenth century because of their reasoning powers or their intellectual experience; they were democratic because absolutism in France had broken down —starved the people and ruined the country—and, kingly right and kingly power having failed them, popular right and popular power were all they had left. The Prussians were not reverent and submissive monarchists because of any peculiarity of

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the Prussian mind; they were so because absolutism in Germany had turned a poor country into a prosperous one, and a weak nation into a great military power. You only reason about a machine when it breaks down. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Prussia had an economic-military system which, almost one hundred years old, was still more than one hundred years ahead of the systems of England and France. She had produced the supreme military genius of the country before Napoleon. She had had experience of democracy as a force generated by national waste, injustice, and want, which, once produced, violated her every cherished conception of international right and aspired to tear down the structures of nations and put its heel on the neck of the world. She saw in Napoleon's most lauded constructive policies nothing that Frederick William had not known and practiced. In accounting for Germany's present-day attitude toward democracy we must never forget that, at the close of three-quarters of a century of nurture under two kings who stand among the supreme ruling geniuses of the world, Prussia was called upon to help capture and cage up Napoleon—who to her was the product of democracy and popular rule—as a farmer might be called upon to help capture a predatory wolf.

How can a nation doubt its own history? Prussia had been blessed by autocracy and cursed by democracy. We know that there are strange chances in national life as well as individual life, and that Prussian history during this period went directly counter to the general experience of mankind. But Prussia was made by her own experience, and not by general averages of the history of nations.

The time when Prussia ought to have been slowly infiltrated by democratic ideas was during the period between the ending of her seventy-three years of rulership by geniuses and the days of Bismarck and William I. This was the period of the three weak Frederick Williams. But her pores were hermetically closed to the permeative influences of democracy by her experience with Napoleon; she knew little or nothing of the political experience of England, and less than nothing of that of the United States. So she resisted the influences of '48 in large measure, after a half-century in which the intellectual and spiritual forces of Prussian patriotism, splendidly manifest in men like Jahn and Fichte and Schleiermacher, had been largely consumed in nerving a nation to resist tyranny that had been wreaked under the specious watchwords of liberty and equality.

The year 1861 came, and Prince William, already Regent, became William I. In October of the next year Otto von Bismarck became Prime Minister of Prussia. Again absolutism worked. Again Prussian history moved exactly counter to the general experience of mankind. William I was at his wits' end when Bismarck took the helm. The national Legislature had refused the money necessary to support the enlarged army which his military sense told him to be necessary. His abdication was drawn up and signed as he talked with Bismarck in the park at Babelsberg on that fateful October day. Bismarck declared that the main question was which should govern—the Crown, or a majority of the House of Representatives. Then he undertook the task of "ministerial government without a majority, without a budget, and without a programme." He carried this on for four years. "The press was gagged, unfriendly Government officials deprived of their places, political discussions forbidden at public meetings, and even freedom of speech in the House itself interfered with by the police." This is not an arraignment. I quote from a popular history of Germany "Dedicated by Gracious Permission to His Royal Highness Prince Henry of Prussia on the Occasion of His Visit to America."

Absolutism won. A Hohenzollern had come to the throne representing the hereditary virtues of industry, frugality, simplicity of life, paternal interest in the welfare of the people. William was as devoted to his army as was Frederick William I. Beside him stood a diplomat who was as able, as wily, and as little troubled by scruples as Frederick the Great himself. Prussia's traditional economic-military-political policies were once more in full vigor. A frugal people and an efficient Government backed an irresistible army under an absolute King. And Prussia was still a half-century ahead of the rest of the world in her understanding of the economic foundations of military power.

Then followed the trilogy of Bismarck's wars—the Danish, the Austrian, the French. Each was short, sharp, and profitable. Let this never be forgotten. The Danish war was a matter of a few months, and it gave Prussia Schleswig-Holstein, and made possible the Kiel Canal and the naval policy of the present hour. The Austrian war was a matter of days—June 16 to July 22—and it gave Prussia Austria's unwilling consent to her leadership of North Germany and "the annexation of from three to four million North German inhabitants," besides some 20,000,000 thalers. The Franco-Prussian War gave Prussia Alsace-Lorraine, $1,000,000,000, and the overlordship of a new German Empire. Each one of these wars, directed by the King and the Minister who had so ruthlessly overridden popular government and the popular will, made Prussia larger, richer, stronger. What a contrast with France! Remember the Commune, Boulanger, the declining birth rate, the Panama scandal. These the Prussians saw as the fruits of democracy. Once more they beheld the Hohenzollern type of absolutism justified of its children. The scientific and inventive triumphs of a new day but threw into sharper relief, against the background formed by nations that muddled along, like England, nations that almost stopped growing, like France, and nations that wasted their national substance, like the United States, the essential wisdom of the eighteenth-century kings of Prussia and their policy of irresistible military power through an army led by an absolute king and backed by a frugal people and an economical administration. Once more absolutism was paying dividends in wealth, power, and prestige, while democracy in a neighboring country fell far behind. In other nations the popular thought was leading, and the rulers were following the people. In Germany the rulers led and the people followed. French, American, and English rulers were living up to the people; the German people were living up to their rulers.

We come to the policy of frightfulness. From one standpoint, it is mere survival. One hundred and twenty years ago Napoleon promised his soldiers the loot of rich cities and populous provinces, and beautified Paris by the spoils of half Europe. One hundred and ten years ago England destroyed Denmark's fleet for the sole crime of Danish neutrality. And far be it from us to speak of the opium war and the Congo atrocities of more recent days.

But we must look deeper than this. The policy of frightfulness is part and parcel of absolutism, and every time you preserve absolutism you preserve, of necessity, the ethics of absolutism. By a series of rare historical accidents, absolutism, which has cursed England and France and Russia with economic weakness and national misery, in Prussia has yielded economic strength and national prosperity. And when absolutism was confirmed in Prussia the ethics of absolutism was confirmed also. Absolutism, in theory government by one man, is in practice government by a limited, powerful, and highly trained class. Destroy the immediate hold of that class on influence and power, and your government is gone. Now the German idea of government is that of the Prussian state, with its benevolent autocracy and its docile people. In the German statesman's mind the first of popular virtues is docility. The government of Alsace-Lorraine and that of the Eastern Marches of Prussia, as sketched in von Bülow's "Imperial Germany," perfectly illustrates this. In Germany the people are not the fountain of power. If the government were destroyed, the people could not recreate it, because it did not come from them in the first place. It came down from above, from the superior class.

In a democratic country like ours the removal of the entire official class, root and branch, would not change the nature of the government. The people would elect a new set of officials and go on as before, for the governing ideas reside with the people, and officials are mere instruments. But in Germany—as every reader of former Chancellor von Bülow well knows—the governing ideas do not come from the people, and if the governing class were removed the basis of government would go with them.

All theories of the conduct of war are based on the safeguarding of the center and fountain of power. If the people are the fountain of power, then the people ought to be safeguarded first

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of all. But if a ruling class is the fountain of power, then it ought first of all to be guarded. And this, to the autocratic mind, necessitates frightfulness. The ethics of absolutism is just as true to absolutism's point of view as the ethics of democracy is to democracy's point of view. The ruling class in Germany to-day is very different, in time of peace, from the bureaucracy of France in the eighteenth century or that of Tudor England. Those minor German officials, honest, frugal, poor, intellectual, kindly, living for the state, and, like their royal master of a few years since, "having no time to be tired," are something new in the history of absolutism. But the excellencies of individuals cannot change the essential natures of institutions, and, in the hour of war, Prussianized Germany is torpedoing merchant ships full of women and children, executing women who helped wretched prisoners to escape from captured towns, invading neutral and friendly nations, levying vast sums of money on unfortified and non-resisting cities, and ruthlessly destroying buildings sacred to every lover of religion, art, and scholarship, because, just as the salvation of the people at any cost is the first law of democracy, so the salvation of the ruling class at any cost is the first law of absolutism.

Germany to-day, in the hour of supreme triumph of Frederick William's economic policies, the hour that demonstrates that the military-economic statesmanship of Prussia in 1713 was two hundred years ahead of the rest of the world, is struggling with the dreadful harvest of an ethical system one hundred years behind the rest of the world. She is paying the price of those years when Bismarck governed without a majority, without a budget, without a programme, gagged the press, degraded unfriendly officials, stifled public discussion, and intimidated the national Legislature itself by the power of the police, until absolutism had been made to pay again in power, prestige, territory, and thalers so lavishly that the people became docile once more, as they had been under Frederick William, who once wrote to an official, "Salvation belongs to the Lord, and everything else is my affair," and who wrote in his great "Instruction," which established the system of administration which recreated Prussia: "We are Lord and King, and can do what we will."

This anticipation of the economic wisdom of two hundred years, with the pride and the blindness which was certain to result in other portions of the national life from such superiority to surrounding nations in the matters of getting rich and of fighting, explains the two Germanys of to-day. No nation has ever learned the lesson of democracy theoretically. It has never been learned—in England, Switzerland, France, the United States—except by the failure of absolutism. It will be learned in Germany only by the failure of absolutism. In Switzerland, in England, in France, in the American colonies, absolutism broke down in domestic affairs; the autocratic ruler was stripped of his power by the rising of his own subjects. In Prussia—and in the German Empire—absolutism has not broken down in domestic affairs. Thanks to the strength of Frederick William I and his great son, thanks to the bullying tactics of Bismarck which cowed the people, and the success of his wars which enriched them, absolutism has strengthened the nation instead of weakening it. The breakdown of Prussian absolutism is coming in the realm of foreign affairs. Its very success is luring it to ruin, for the confidence born of that success has drawn the sword against half a world. Frightful are the current practices resulting from that ethical creed which has belonged to absolutism in every land and every age. The German people—kindly, orderly, docile, industrious, thrifty—are paying the price exacted by the mercilessness of fate from a nation which, anticipating the economic advance of the world by two hundred years, has fallen a century behind the international ethical standards of nations which have learned through poverty, weakness, revolution, and defeat lessons which fullness of bread and abundance of work and wealth can never teach.

AN ECONOMIC ALLIANCE WITH THE ALLIES

THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAY IN WHICH AMERICA CAN CO-OPERATE TO END THE WAR—A PLEA FOR THE PRACTICAL

BY THEODORE H. PRICE

I HAVE thought and written so much about the war and its effects, economic and otherwise, that my mind is tired and my "brain is sprained," as I once heard a small boy say. I am inclined to believe that the American public is in much the same condition. They no longer react to the stories of battle, murder, and sudden death. The sinking of two hundred ships in a month, the news that provision is being made to take care of nine hundred thousand wounded men in Paris during the "spring drive" for which the military authorities are now preparing, the slaughter of the Armenians, and the starvation of the Belgians are taken almost as a matter of course and excite but little comment. We are benumbed by the spectacle of suffering, and our capacity for indignation and sympathy is exhausted. Our failure to protest more energetically against the frightfulness of the German submarines is probably due to this mental and emotional numbness.

Constant and exquisite pain will finally make the strongest man unconscious, and the uninterrupted contemplation of distress is apt to atrophy the feelings.

The same apathy is now to be noticed in regard to the economic results of the war.

Its immense cost may be expressed in figures, but they are utterly incomprehensible to us.

We say that the debt of the belligerents is $80,000,000,000, but no one seems to be any longer startled by the statement, although such borrowing would have been considered absolutely impossible three years ago. We speculate as to whether we shall have prosperity or the reverse when the war is ended, but no one has much faith in his own predictions or those of others upon the subject. Most of us have become financial opportunists, unable to think clearly, and in doubt as to whether the economic laws of the ante-bellum period will apply to the post-bellum conditions. The whole world has been turned topsy-turvy, and if it were not wrong to be humorous in the presence of so much sorrow we might almost wish that Lewis Carroll and his inimitable Alice were here again to give us their impressions of a seemingly inverted state of existence. The more the fighting nations borrow, the more they seem able to borrow. The larger their debt, the larger their bank deposits. The greater the destruction of war, the greater the prosperity. The higher prices go, the more people are able to spend.

The law of supply and demand appears to have been repealed. Precedents have become valueless, and what we used to believe in as the eternal verities of economic science are apparently contradicted by the sequence of events.

Driven thus to be agnostical with regard to the moral, political, and financial future, we are, like most agnostics, unhappy. Our faith has been shattered by the breakdown of a civilization that seems to be vainly asking, "What shall I do to be saved?" What is the answer, and can we supply it? We are not mercenary, and I believe that ninety-nine per cent of the American people are willing and anxious to do anything and make any sacrifice that will end the war. I spoke to a very rich man the other day, congratulating him upon the success of his various enterprises. They were not "war brides" either. With a look of weariness, he replied: "I am sick of making money. I have but a few years more to live, and I would give my life and all I

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have to end the war." Later on I asked a young mechanic earning $25 a week whether he would enlist and leave his wife and baby if war came. He said: "Sure, if it will do any good; but what's the use of our getting into the fight if we can't end it?"

There need be no fear that America is lacking in either physical or moral courage, but we are a practical people. We want to be reasonably sure that we can remedy wrong before we take up arms and sacrifice the lives of our young men in the attempt.

The whole Nation (except for the few whose cocksure hindsight enables them to be retrospectively prescient) sympathize with the President in his patient effort to avoid war unless it will hasten peace.

There is a humorist signing himself "K. C. B." who writes for the New York "American." He uses an eccentric typography with quaint emphasis. The other day he was in Washington. From there he sent to his paper the following, which is reprinted in conventional type:

In Washington,
Painted on a little board, atop a hill at Arlington,
I read these lines:
"Your own proud land's heroic soil must be your fitter grave.
She claims from war his richest spoil, the ashes of the brave."
And where I stood was by the place where Dewey lies,
And back of me, where I had come,
I'd read the names engraved in stone,
Of soldier men and sailor men,
Who'd done their bit and gone,
But still live on in printed page and grateful heart.
And there I dreamed,
Until the boy who went with me because he knew the ground we trod,
Took me away upon a path that led to rows of smaller stones,
And told me
That the round-top stones were graves of those whose names were known,
And square-top stones marked resting-place of unknown dead,
The derelicts of battlefield and sunken ship.
And here it seemed to me I saw the greatest tragedy of war.
And we went on and climbed again atop the hill,
And looked across the valley where the river flows.
And in the light of setting sun I saw beyond the river's bank
A great white house
And wondered if it ever was that some one there
Looked over to the place I stood and saw the stones with square-cut tops,
And prayed
That he might find a way to guide us past the need of more.

Something like the thought thus curiously expressed pervades the entire American people.

The men who direct our Government and those who shape public opinion through the newspapers are, for the most part, middle-aged. They know they will not be allowed to fight if we go to war. There cannot be any question of cowardice in so far as they are concerned. They know, too, that nothing would be easier than to inflame the youth of this country with a spirit that would compel even the slackers to enlist and drive multitudes of young men and boys to their death.

Is it surprising that they hesitate? Is there any one even among those who are shouting so loudly for war that would not hesitate if he had to take the responsibility of leading a hundred million people into the jaws of death and suffering? Would he not exhaust every means to avoid such a catastrophe unless he was convinced that our participation in the struggle would end it? Would that be the result? I am disposed to think so, and I am therefore for war if that shall be finally necessary to end the war.

But there is, I think, a better method that will be much less costly in human life and far more promptly effective. It is an economic alliance with the Entente Powers. Their greatest needs at present are food and ammunition. We are supplying both on a large scale. If we went to war, it would be two years before we could be of any practical assistance.

Our productive power would meantime be curtailed. We would be compelled to reserve most of our production to ourselves, and the cost of the little that we could part with would be enormously increased.

I am in correspondence with many Englishmen and several Frenchmen. If I read their letters aright, none of them believe that our entry into the struggle as active combatants would help them much. Some say frankly that it would be a hindrance. What they do want is our moral support and our financial and commercial co-operation. Lloyd George has said that it is silver bullets that will win the war—meaning thereby money. An American credit of five billion dollars now opened in favor of the Allies would probably end the struggle and give us a voice in the terms of peace. Our participation as active belligerents might prolong it, and would certainly increase the bitterness of feeling with which Germany is now regarded by most Americans.

All the talk about the vindication of our National honor through bloodshed and the preservation of our self-respect by fighting is beside the mark. The time was when a challenge to a duel was the only way in which an honorable man could reply to an insult. Because some one assailed his veracity or his courage he must needs put himself up to be shot at or be accused of cowardice.

There is a tradition that it made men more respectful of each other's rights and feelings, but I cannot discover that it is well founded.

Human life and human rights were never so well protected as they are in this country to-day, and those who fight duels are arrested as criminals.

Self-defense is a duty, but the wise man will take care to make it effective by a resort to methods that give him the advantage over the offender. Unless he is a trained pugilist he will not attack a prize-fighter with his fists. He will try to get a gun or call on the policeman. The sane man when threatened by a maniac will endeavor to employ strategy until he can secure assistance. Our purpose to-day should be to put the straitjacket on war-mad Germany as promptly as possible. In an attempt to accomplish this purpose we should take no thought of national honor or self-respect. There is no dishonor in being assailed by a madman, and our self-respect is not increased if we kill him unnecessarily. The thing to do is to restrain him, and the psychopathic expert is generally better qualified than the inexperienced man to deal with such cases. Let us not confuse ourselves. Our plain duty to-day is to end the war. Everything else should be subordinated to this duty.

How can we discharge it most effectively? It would not help very much if after two years of preparation we get some troops across the Atlantic and kill thousands of Germans for every American that has been murdered. But it will help a great deal if we loan the Allies the money they require to buy what they need of us and co-operate with them in keeping an ocean lane open so that they can ferry their purchases to Europe.

It may be said that this will be the equivalent of war. It may be, but the declaration of war should not be ours, and Germany cannot wage an offensive warfare against us for a long time to come, except as she may incite some aliens in this country to sporadic violence. To deal with them a National police force of well-paid and experienced men should be immediately employed. Among our population there are at least half a million ex-policemen, veteran soldiers, sailors, detectives, section bosses, constables, and the like who are accustomed to handling ruffians and criminals.

From these men a body similar to the State constabulary in Pennsylvania or the mounted police in Canada could be organized that would be entirely competent to deal with any disorder that German sympathizers here might create. The war would probably be ended before such a force had very much to do.

We might meantime engage ourselves in organizing all the preparedness and making all the preparation that Congress and the Legislatures of forty-eight different States will permit or pay for. It is, however, my belief that it will take at least two years, if not longer, to agree upon a practicable plan for a military establishment in this country, and five or six years more to put it in operation. By that time the immediate necessity would have passed and the people would probably decline to authorize its continuance.

There is, moreover, a strong feeling that the young men who

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CURRENT EVENTS ILLUSTRATED

MICHAEL FEODOROVITCH (1596–1645), FIRST CZAR OF THE ROMANOFF LINE

PETER THE GREAT (1672–1725), THE MOST CELEBRATED OF THE ROMANOFF CZARS

ALEXANDER II (1818–1881), THE LIBERATOR OF THE SERFS—ASSASSINATED BY NIHILISTS

THE GRAND DUKE MICHAEL (1878–), WHO MAY BECOME REGENT IF THE PEOPLE APPROVE

THE ROMANOFF DYNASTY—WILL IT SURVIVE THE REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA?

A picture of the Czar who has just been dethroned, Nicholas II (1868–), with his family, will be found on the next page

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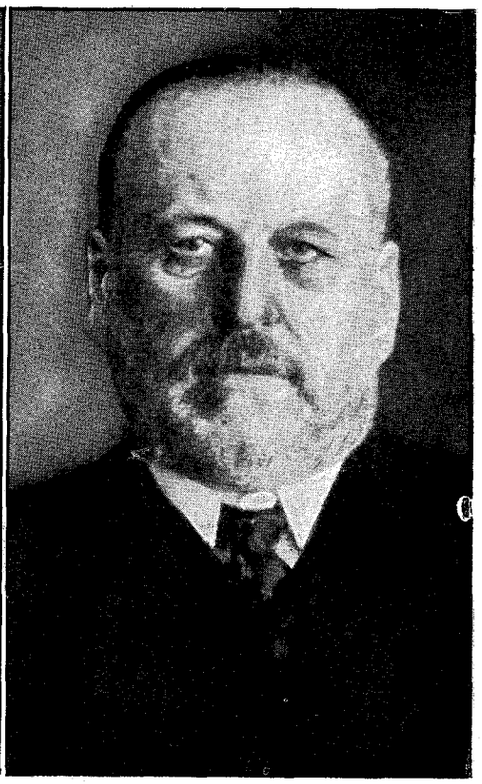
PRINCE GEORGE E. LVOFF
Premier

PAUL N. MILYUKOV
Foreign Minister



MICHAEL V. RODZIANKO
President of the Duma

LEADERS OF THE NEW RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT

THE EX-CZAR WITH HIS FAMILY (THE FORMER CZAREVITCH IN THE FOREGROUND)

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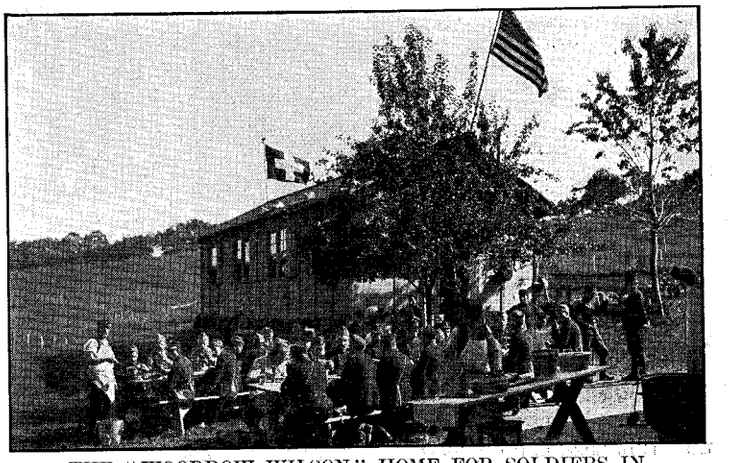
FORMER AMBASSADOR GERARD AND MRS. GERARD AT KEY WEST

The despatch bag on Mr. Gerard's shoulder is believed to have contained very important documents concerning the relations between this country and Germany. It was guarded most zealously by Mr. Gerard after his recall from Berlin



THE "WOODROW WILSON" HOME FOR SOLDIERS IN SWITZERLAND

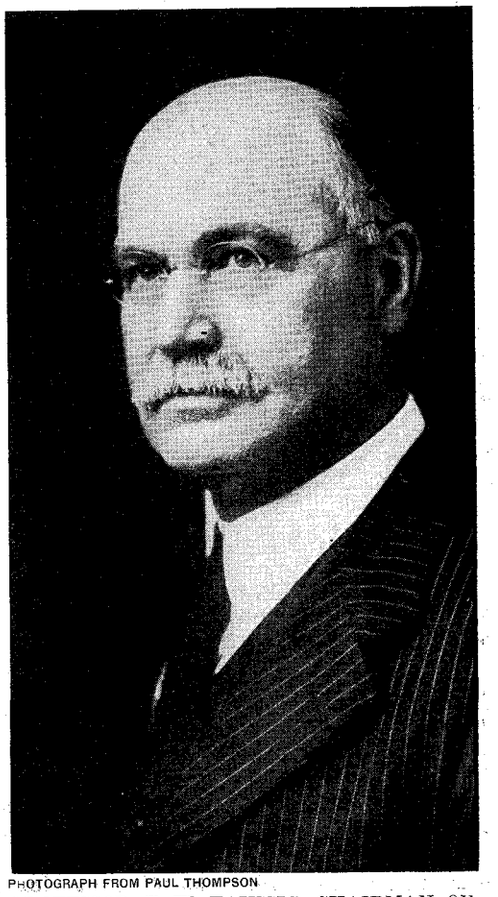
Presented to the Swiss people by the American Colony of Switzerland

CITIZEN SOLDIERS OF SWITZERLAND WEARING THE NEW SWISS STEEL HELMET

An improvement recently adopted by the army of Switzerland

A TRAINING-SCHOOL FOR "WHITE WINGS" IN NEW YORK CITY

There is a right and a wrong way to handle a broom, and these "rookies" of the Street Cleaning Department are being taught the right way. See editorial pages for an account of this new kind of school



PHOTOGRAPH FROM PAUL THOMPSON

PROFESSOR F. W. TAUSSIG, CHAIRMAN OF THE NEW TARIFF COMMISSION

Professor Taussig is known as an authority on questions concerning the tariff. He has for many years been professor of political economy in Harvard University

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are asked to face death in protecting the lives and property of non-combatants should be paid at least as much as they could earn in civil life, and there is much to be said in favor of this view.

The cost of maintaining an adequate force on these terms is another obstacle in the way of securing it. The traditions and sentiment of our people are against anything that suggests the possibility of a standing army, and it will be exceedingly difficult to get legislative authority for a large military force except in time of actual war.

We must then proceed to equip and train it. To use it in modern warfare untrained is to send it to the shambles.

These are the considerations which lead me to use my small influence against a present declaration of war by this country, and in favor of the use of our greatest power—our wealth—in an effort to end the horrible struggle in Europe. Let us say to the Allied governments that we will subordinate our own rights and pride to the rights of humanity; that the ending of the war rather than an egotistical vindication of our honor is our chief concern, and that as the most practical evidence we can give of our sincerity we offer them ungrudgingly our economic support.

There may not be much military glory in such a policy, but it will be common sense.

It will require great moral courage to adopt it, although it will not call for any display of physical valor.

We may for a time be misunderstood, but we shall preserve a consciousness of real self-respect, and when the war-madness is over, the world will realize that "he that ruleth his spirit is better than he that taketh a city."

[We agree with Mr. Price that the most efficient aid which the United States can at present give to the Allies is financial aid. But that is not enough. We take this occasion to restate our belief which has often been set forth in these pages. It is:

That war is an unpleasant, awful means for correcting evil.

That while a country that can understand no argument but force is running amuck, war is the only means available.

That it is the business of our Government to defend our citizens, the Nation at large, and those principles of life and liberty which Germany is trying to trample under foot.

That if it is our business to do this we should not seek reasons for avoiding the dirty part of the business because it is dirty—because it means that we should get muddied and bloody.

That it is neither self-respecting nor safe for this country to depend upon other countries to do the muddy and the bloody work while we stand off and offer them cash.

That to safeguard America, international law, and the right of mankind to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, it is necessary to destroy the Prussian State, which, as Mr. Brown points out in his article on page 550, is a survival of the days when there was no American freedom, or common regard for international law, or respect for inalienable human rights.

That in bringing about the destruction of the Prussian State we owe it to ourselves, to the nations who are fighting it, and to the world at large that we should go in with all our might—not only with our money, but with our heart and soul and lives.

That if we are not going to do this we ought to keep out altogether.—THE EDITORS.]

THE LAST DAYS OF JESUS CHRIST

BY LYMAN ABBOTT.

VI—ALONE ON THE CROSS[1]

"THERE are," says F. W. Robertson, "two kinds of solitude: the first consisting of insulation in space, the other of isolation of the spirit. The first is simply separation by distance. . . . The other is loneliness of soul." Jesus on the cross was one of a great multitude. But what companionship of soul was possible for him with the victorious priests saying to each other, with malignant, smiling triumph, "He saved others; himself he cannot save;" or with the indifferent soldiers gambling for the possession of the robe which love had wrought for him; or with the careless spectators drawn to the place by the news of a triple execution; or with the cursing brigand on one side of him or with the repentant brigand looking back on a life dedicated to lust and plunder? There were his mother and his much-loved disciple at the foot of the cross and two faithful women. But they did not and could not comprehend the true significance of that hour. They saw with pitying anguish their Master dying, and with him dying their hope that he was to be the world's Messiah. They needed the comforting strength which by his dying words Jesus gave to them; comfort and strength they could not give to him.

And now a greater loneliness fell upon him—greater than that in the childhood vision of his Father's commission in the Temple, which even his mother could not comprehend; greater than that of the long and perplexed pondering in the wilderness upon the problem of his life-work; greater than those hours which he spent at night when he went apart by himself to recruit his courage and his strength by prayer; greater than his solitude in the Garden, in the court-room, or at Pilate's judgment seat. He had only partially foretold this hour—had he more than partially foreseen it?—when he told his disciples: "The hour cometh, yea, is now come, that ye shall be scattered, every man to his own, and shall leave me alone: and yet I am not alone, because the Father is with me."

For now the Father was not with him. He was left, or at least seemed to himself to be left, to face this trial hour without even his Father's companionship. It was the only experience in his life that wrung from him a cry of self-pity. The nation had rejected him, his mother and his brothers had thought that he was beside himself, the fickle multitude had deserted him, the Church had conspired to slay him, his disciples had scattered every man to his own, the one disciple who understood him best did not understand him now. But never till the consciousness of his Father's presence was denied him did he utter a word of remonstrance or an appeal for help.

We may well believe that this experience came to Jesus because it was his mission as our guide and companion to pass through every experience of trial common to man. And this experience of "forsaken" is not uncommon. It was Elijah's when, disappointed at the failure of his attempted overthrow of the worship of Baal, he would have been glad to commit suicide, but had either too much conscience or too little courage. It was the experience of Jeremiah when he described "the wilderness, . . . a land of deserts and of pits, . . . a land of drought and of the shadow of death, . . . a land that no man passed through, and where no man dwelt." It was the experience of Job when he cried, "Oh that I knew where I might find him! that I might come even to his seat! . . . I go forward, but he is not there; and backward, but I cannot perceive him; on the left hand, where he doth work, but I cannot behold him; he hideth himself on the right hand, that I cannot see him." Bunyan describes it in his picture of Christian going alone through the Valley of the Shadow of Death where "one of the wicked ones got behind him and stepped up softly to him, and whisperingly suggested many grievous blasphemies to him, which he verily thought had proceeded from his own mind." R. E. Prothero, in his interesting volume on "The Psalms in Human Life," gives historical illustrations of this experience: the Archbishop of Canterbury found the Crusaders so given over to licentiousness that his chaplain declared, "God is not in the camp;" and Richard I, deserted by his followers and seeing that the crusade had failed, thought himself deserted by God also, and cried out in Christ's own words, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?"

This experience of spiritual loneliness may come because we

[1] This is the sixth of a series of seven articles to be continued throughout the Lenten season.

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have forsaken God, or because we have misunderstood his will and followed our own instead, or it may be a symptom of remorse for sin still persisted in. But it may be no sinful experience. It may be due simply to exhausted nerves, or to a natural reaction from overwrought emotions, or to an unhealthy habit of self-examination leading to spiritual hypochondria. Or it may be because God really has left us to ourselves and thrown us upon our own resources, that we may either learn the limits of our power and not trust ourselves too much, or may learn the reality of our power and be cured of our timorous distrust.

This experience of "forsaken" is sometimes a national experience. Modern scholars think that many of the psalms which were formerly regarded as individual experiences were really composed and sung as experiences of the nation. If so, then such psalms as the Forty-second and the Forty-third may perhaps be regarded as the expression of the struggle of faith in a time when the people of Israel seemed to be forsaken by their God. As "My Country, 'Tis of Thee" when sung by a congregation expresses a feeling of National patriotism, so these psalms and others like them would express an experience of national loneliness:

> My soul thirsteth for God, for the living God: when shall I come and appear before God? My tears have been my meat day and night, while they continually say unto me, Where is thy God?

Just now there are not a few who, with Job, cannot perceive God in current events, and so conclude either that there is no God or that God dwells in beatific indifference to human sin and suffering, or that he is at best a feeble God who is doing the little that he can, but cannot do much. Christ's teaching seems to me to give a different solution to our perplexity. In a story, in substance more than once repeated, he compares the kingdom of God to an estate left by the lord of the estate in charge of his servants while he goes on a journey into a far country, a journey which lasts for a long time. He implies that God does leave us at times to ourselves that we may learn in the school of experience what we can learn in no other way. For it is in that school that we best learn the lessons that really determine our character and control our conduct.

I have a friend who seems to me to possess what I will call the teaching genius. She has charge of a room of young girl pupils. She left them alone one day, telling them before she went that she trusted to their honor to preserve order in her absence. When she returned, she found the room a scene of wild, hilarious disorder. She might have resolved that never again would she absent herself from the room. Or, if she was compelled to do so, that she would always leave a monitor to keep order. But she believed that it was more important to teach her pupils self-control than to teach them geography or arithmetic or English. The course she pursued I need not here describe; indeed, I could not describe it, for the essence of that method was the substitution of personal influence for mere governmental authority, and the methods of personal influence defy description. Suffice it to say that less than six months later she was detained in the principal's room after the close of recess, was asked by the principal to take two visitors up to her room and let them see her class work, and entered to find that the girls were reading the Shakespeare appointed for that hour with the self-elected president of the class acting as their leader. The teacher had accomplished her purpose. Leaving them alone, she had trained them in self-control as she could not have done had she always remained with them.

Thus God is teaching his children the meaning of human brotherhood.

The ideal of a human brotherhood transcending all limits of race, religion, or nationality has been for centuries before the sons of men. Probably there has been no century since Jesus preached human brotherhood in Palestine when there has not been some prophet or poet to give to his generation a vision of that splendid ideal. At the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century a few radicals attempted to realize that ideal in a government "conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." In the terrible school of experience our own country, North and South, learned the incongruity of African slavery with that ideal, and it was abolished. Since that time the world has had in the unapproachable prosperity of this country a demonstration that it is possible for men of different religious faiths, different social conditions, different nationalities, different races, to live together, united by a common human aspiration and a mutual respect. We have not practiced our avowed principles consistently; we have not lived up to our professed ideal. But even so, in the imperfect realization of our ideal, in the imperfect practice of our avowed principles, we have been rewarded far beyond our deserts.

Meanwhile the common people of Europe—of England, France, Italy, and in less degree of Russia and Germany—have perceived this ideal of human brotherhood and have in some measure accepted it as their own. But they have been confronted by a very different ideal, not confined to Germany, but in Germany more than in any other civilized nation taught by the religious and political leaders and more fully than in any other nation embodied in the government. That ideal, as expressed by their press, their professors, their preachers, their political leaders, has been that might makes right; that one race must dominate Europe; that the Slav and the Latin races must be subject to the Teuton race; that war is a biological, a moral, and a Christian necessity; that there is no brotherhood of nations; that the uncivilized peoples are the "spoils" of the civilized nations, and the smaller nations ought of right to be subject to the greater nations. While the German Empire has been illustrating in the trenches and in its treatment of Belgium the law of the forest, struggle for existence and survival of the strongest, democracy has been illustrating in the prison camps and the hospitals the law of human brotherhood. And by the contrast the world is learning the lesson which it apparently could not learn either from the vision of the poets or the very imperfect object-lesson of one very imperfectly developed democratic nation.

To the question of the day, asked by some cynically, by some in great perplexity, Has God forgotten us, or is there no God? my answer is: God is teaching the human race the lesson of justice, liberty, and order—the lesson, that is, of human brotherhood based on self-control and mutual respect; as William George taught the waifs and strays of New York City in the George Junior Republic, as Mr. Osborne wished to teach the criminals in the State Prison, as my teacher friend taught the girls in her school-room by allowing the pupils to learn life's lesson in life's great school, the school of actual experience.

Jesus said to his disciples nearly nineteen hundred years ago: "The princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them. But it shall not be so among you: but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister; and whosoever will be chief among you let him be your servant." These two ideals of government, the autocratic and the democratic, the pagan and the Christian, are engaged to-day in a life-and-death struggle on the battlefields of Europe, and the world has learned more of the principles and the spirit of human brotherhood in these three years of war, in seeing the evil wrought by the one and the beneficence wrought by the other, than it learned in all the centuries that preceded.

As this paper is going to press the news reaches us of the revolution in Russia, the abdication of the Czar, the overthrow of the Russian autocracy, and the liberation of the exiled and the imprisoned lovers of liberty. It is too soon to estimate aright the full significance of this revolution, but it is reasonably certain that the old régime of irresponsible despotism will never be restored, that even if some representative of the old dynasty should be called to the throne it would not be as an autocrat but as a constitutional monarch, that never in the future will the rights and liberties of the Russian people be subject to the whims of a cruel and corrupt bureaucracy. And because this revolution has been accomplished by the people themselves, their self-reliance, self-control, courage, and manliness have been developed as they could not have been developed by any supernatural intervention in their behalf.

I do not, then, believe that this European war indicates either that there is no God or that he is an indifferent and a feeble God. It indicates that his faith in his children is so great and his love for them is so strong that he dares to leave them at times to learn in life's bitter struggles the real meaning and the real values of life. And the lesson always has been and always will be worth all that it costs.

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WEEKLY OUTLINE STUDY OF CURRENT HISTORY

BY J. MADISON GATHANY, A.M.
HOPE STREET HIGH SCHOOL, PROVIDENCE, R. I.

Based on The Outlook of March 21, 1917

Each week an Outline Study of Current History based on the preceding number of The Outlook will be printed for the benefit of current events classes, debating clubs, teachers of history and of English, and the like, and for use in the home and by such individual readers as may desire suggestions in the serious study of current history.—THE EDITORS.

I—INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

A. Topic: Armed Guards for American Ships, Proper Naval Vessels, and Wooden Cargo Vessels.

Reference: Pages 493, 494.

Questions:

1. Explain why we are arming our merchant ships. Are we still a neutral nation? 2. What is the meaning of "armed guards"? 3. For what reasons do or do you not agree with The Outlook that this action by our Government is "most welcome," and that "it is a step toward the *restoration* [italics mine] of American self-respect"? 4. Why would an attack upon an armed merchant ship be an act of war? 5. What could America do by way of supplying merchant ships and submarine destroyers? What are the latter? 6. Why are we much better fitted to produce merchant ships than battle-ships? 7. In what ways could the unnaturalized Germans and Austrians in this country cause it considerable trouble should America go to war with Germany and Austria? 8. If they should cause trouble, what would you advocate doing to them? 9. Discuss the function of wooden cargo vessels.

B. Topic: Fall of Bagdad.

Reference: Pages 494, 495.

Questions:

1. Tell the story of the fall of Bagdad. 2. Give ten significant things about Bagdad previous to modern times. 3. Discuss the relation of the capture of Bagdad to other parts of the war in Asia. 4. What further does and may its capture mean?

II—NATIONAL AFFAIRS

A. Topic: The Senate in Special Session.

Reference: Page 495.

Questions:

1. What is the status of the present Senate? Have the new Senators been sworn in? 2. Name and discuss the three special functions of the Senate. What are its other functions? 3. State the provisions of its closure rule. Why was this new rule adopted? What is your opinion of it?

B. Topic: War and Labor.

Reference: Pages 498, 499.

Questions:

1. What is organized labor? Should it be recognized and granted favors? 2. Congress has control over the railways. Should or should it not have control over labor unions? Discuss at length. 3. Compare the two events of last week showing the attitude of labor. 4. For what reasons may the second event be considered a blunder? 5. What in your opinion is the danger of the Brotherhoods? Are their ends selfish? 6. What are possible solutions of the labor troubles in America? What is your solution? 7. Are lawless demands ever justifiable? Discuss.

C. Topic: The Pacifist Doctrine and Its Fallacy.

Reference: Page 496 and pages 500, 501.

Questions:

1. What is pacifism? Are there different types of pacifists? 2. Comment on pacifism and preparedness at Harvard. Tell what you think of the statements found on the two placards. 3. What is the doctrine of non-resistance? Who should observe it? Would you place any limit upon its observance? 4. Does pacifism foster cowardice? Encourage materialism? Weaken Nationalism? Is it a contributing cause of war? 5. Do or do you not consider pacifism dangerous? 6. Suggest methods of dealing with it.

D. Topic: Shall West Point be Reorganized?

Reference: Editorial, pages 501, 502.

Questions:

1. What is the present plan of appointment of cadets? Do you think this plan wise? Why or why not? 2. What are the conditions of entrance? 3. What other schools does the United States maintain for military training? 4. What is West Point's chief defect? How can this be remedied? 5. What is Major-General Sanger's suggestion? What do you think of The Outlook's criticism of it?

E. Topic: The Merit System.

Reference: Editorial, page 503.

Questions:

1. How do postmasters now secure their positions? 2. What is President Wilson's plan? 3. From the standpoint of a spoilsman give the arguments for the spoils system. 4. What are the arguments for the merit system? 5. Which do you favor?

III—FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Topic: German Militarism.

Reference: Pages 508–510.

Questions:

1. How does Miss Vaughn defend German militarism? 2. What *proofs* does she give showing that Great Britain, France, and Russia *were* actual enemies of Germany? *When* and *how many times* did these nations prohibit Germany from using the high seas or otherwise hinder her legitimate development? 3. Have or have not Germany's greatest enemies been her own imagination and her conception of her own function in the world? 4. State the substance and the significance of the quotations used by The Outlook in its rejoinder to Miss Vaughn's defense of German militarism. 5. What are the basic ingredients of German militarism? Its moral effects? Its general influence? Its conception of the state? Of war? Of freedom? Of the freedom of the seas?

IV—PROPOSITIONS FOR DISCUSSION

(These propositions are suggested directly or indirectly by the subject-matter of The Outlook, but not discussed in it.)

1. National safety is a higher principle than individual liberty. 2. Pacifism possesses more dangers for America than does militarism.

V—VOCABULARY BUILDING

(Define accurately the following words and expressions, all of which are found in The Outlook for March 21, 1917.)

Indemnity, status, civilian, standardize, majority, maelstrom, ominous, inherent, authority, irredentism, caricature, ogre, strategic, Sublime Porte, Entente, defamation.

This New Range Is A Wonder For Cooking

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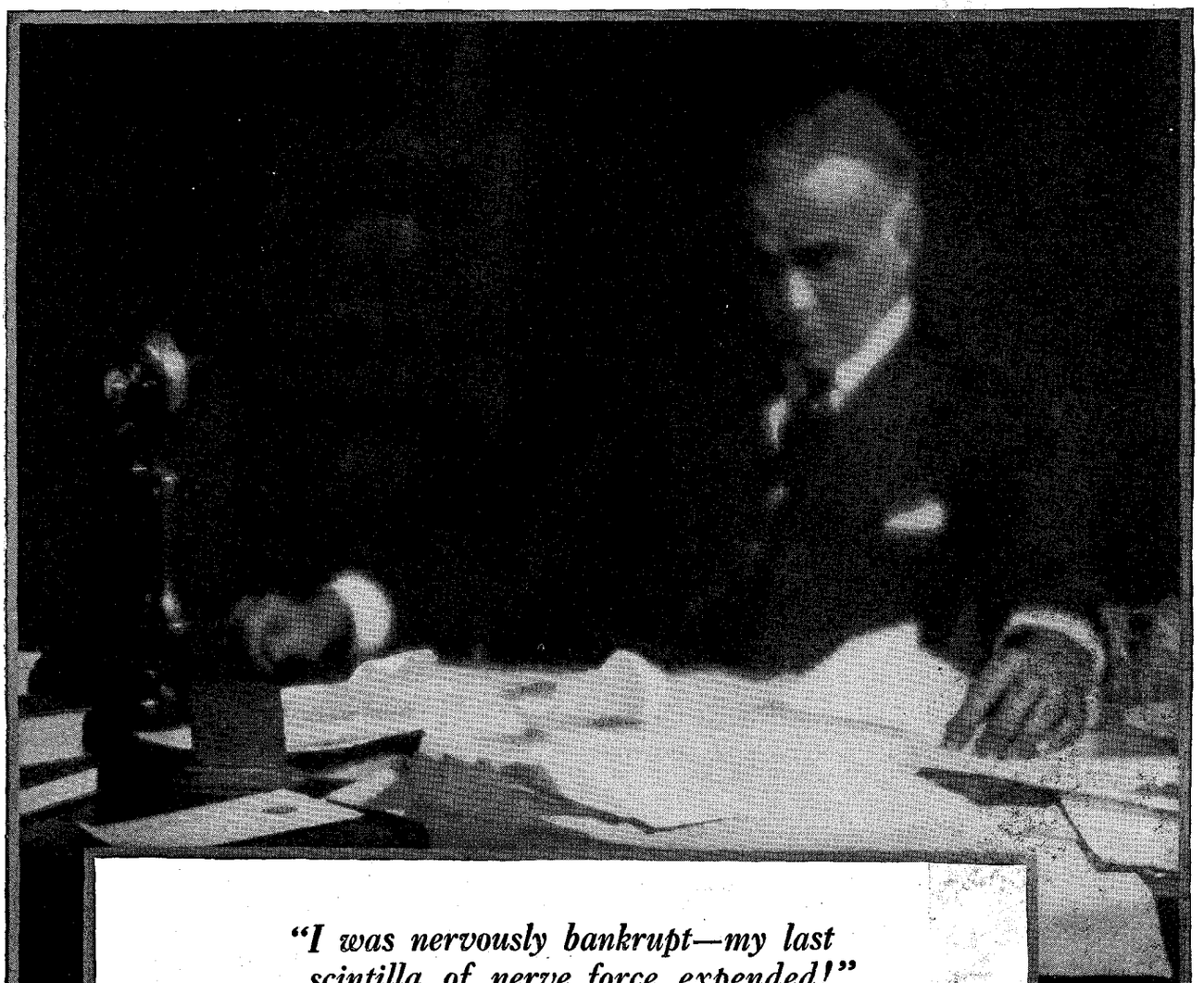

"I was nervously bankrupt—my last scintilla of nerve force expended!"

—*From* "The Confessions of a Neurasthenic"
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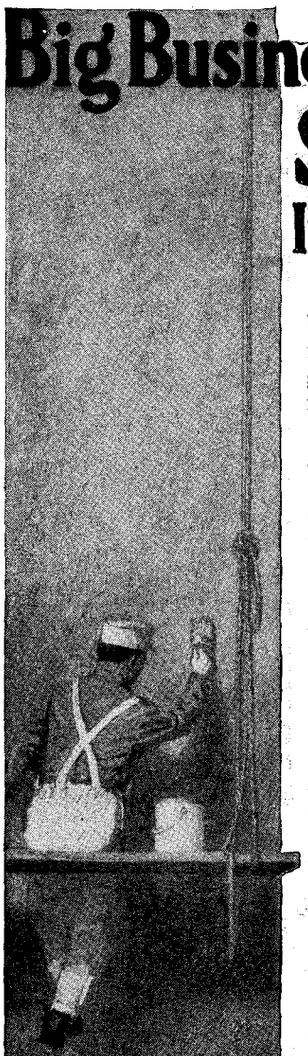

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THE READER'S VIEW

WRONG IN PRINCIPLE AND CRIMINAL IN ACTION

In your article "The British and German Blockades," issue of February 28, it seems to me you contrast the results of the British blockade and of the German blockade, and fail to contrast the causes. There is as much error and vice in the so-called German blockade of England as there is viciousness and inhumanity in the efforts to enforce it.

England has an open, visible, and effective blockade of German ports; it is even more effective than our blockade of Southern ports was in the Civil War. International law recognizes such a blockade, and neutrals must respect it at their peril.

Germany, on the other hand, has attempted a blockade by an invisible force, so ineffective and inefficient that it is little more than a "threat," and for the most of the time it is *a threat only*, with no submarines thereabouts at all to back up the threat. Shall the blockade by an invisible force, usually non-existent, backed by open threat to sink everything in sight, enemy or neutral, men, women, and babes, be deemed a legal blockade within the purview of international law? The very fact that barbarous and piratical methods must necessarily be resorted to in order to try to enforce such a paper blockade proves its fallacy. The illegal blockade is attempted to be sustained by illegal means; it could not be sustained, in fact, by any other means.

The whole German procedure, therefore, being based on false premises, can be upheld only by violence and murder, or the threat of them. How would our pacifists feel if we should enter upon war with a Power like Spain, and she should declare a blockade of all the ports of the United States with only one or even six submarines? Would Germany respect it? Would she cease trade forthwith with the United States while scattered Spanish submarines roamed our waters, sinking every vessel in sight? It is absurd to think it even.

The pacifist, ignoring the fundamental difference in the two forms of blockade, shrugs his shoulders and asks why shouldn't Germany have the right to blockade England, as well as England has Germany? We answer, certainly, she has the right. The cause of grievance is that she doesn't exercise her right. Her grand fleet that won "a glorious victory" off Jutland has turned tail, like a whipped cur, and dares not poke its nose into the open sea. Germany cannot make use of her fleet; she therefore resorts to scattered submarines, invisible, ineffective, in most part empty threats and remote possibilities of harm, to enforce unlawful decrees.

Our pacifists either cannot or will not see the difference between a liability for property arising from an overzealous enforcement of a legal blockade and the irreparable loss of life, accompanied by loss of property, arising from barbarous and wanton attempts to enforce an illegal blockade. An invisible force, backed by a possibility of harm and a threat, can make good only by attempting to carry out the threat. Sporadic attempts are made, and occasionally a shining mark is hit. The Lusitania or the Laconia goes down freighted with men, women, and children. As the waters close over the innocent the

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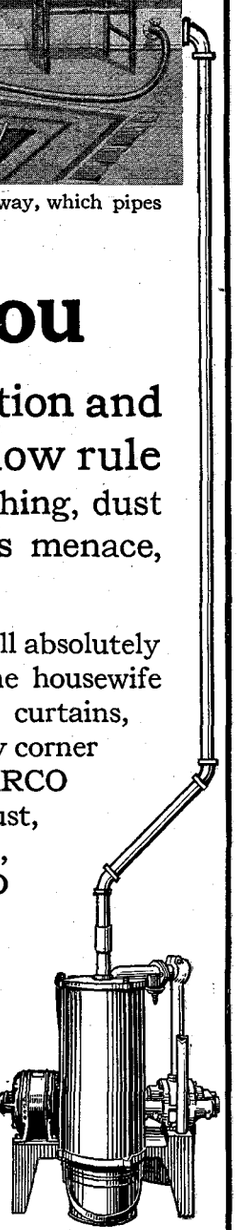

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Johnson's Prepared Wax Liquid is easy to apply and polish — a good sized car can be made to look like new in a half-hour. It preserves the varnish and protects it from the weather adding years to its life. It covers up mars and scratches—prevents checking and cracking—sheds water and does not gather dust.

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Johnson's Prepared Wax ***Liquid*** cleans, polishes and finishes with one operation. It forms a thin, protecting coat over varnish greatly prolonging its life and beauty. It is easy to apply and may be polished instantly with but very little rubbing.

Tell your dealer that Johnson's Prepared Wax is now made in liquid form and insist upon his securing it for you.

S. C. Johnson & Son
Dept. OT3, Racine, Wis.

The Reader's View (Continued)

German press and public applaud, and the Chancellor bends his ear to hear how far his policy of frightfulness on the sea, based on a fraud, will prevail with the only great neutral.

It is therefore necessary to note the fundamental differences in the two forms of blockade to appreciate the ultimate results. An invisible force, backed only by a possibility of harm, a mere threat, and sporadic acts of wantonness to terrify, is not a blockade. You cannot base a right on a fraud; crime only is based on fraud.

CHARLES M. HARRINGTON.
Buffalo, New York.

THE EXPULSION OF THE TURK

In a recent issue you gave as a condition of peace the "expulsion of the Turk from Europe." This, however, does not express the desired idea, for what good would it be if the Turk were expelled from Europe? Most of his European territory is forever lost, yet if he should lose the remainder of his European domain would there be less barbarism in his territories in Asia? What little is left now to him in Europe has never been, and can never be, a bone of contention, for there are hardly any nationalistic claims on that land. Indeed, no systematized massacre has taken place in what at present constitutes European Turkey. But look at Syria to-day; look at Armenia, at Palestine and Arabia. Those nations are to-day suffering more than Belgium or Poland or Serbia are suffering under the Teutonic heel. These are the nations that to-day need the expulsion of the Turk from their countries. They justly deserve this emancipation more than the European Turkey of to-day.

It were better, then, to say "the elimination of the Turkish rule from those lands where distinct nationalities have claims." This would finally eliminate the abovementioned countries as Turkish territories, and would leave the greater part of Asia Minor as available for a Turkish state where no massacres would occur, since the Turks indisputably predominate there, and there no other race claims national rights. Such a course would give the Turks an independent state, to which all nations are entitled; there they would need and practice no massacres, and in time they may become a truly human and civilized state.

Let us not be partisan in asking the liberation of oppressed races. Let us not be contented until the Turk is expelled, not only from Europe, but also from the lands of those other oppressed nations in Asia. For are not those people as human, even though they live to the east of the Bosphorus and the Hellespont?

Are they not also our brothers?

D. E. SI RAMARC.
Chatham, New York.

THE "RELIGIOUS RIGHT" TO DRINK LIQUOR

In The Outlook of February 14 J. W. Emerson attacks the Webb-Kenyon Law; he alleges that the right to personal use of liquor is religious in principle and far beyond the jurisdiction of government; and declares that, touching religious practices, the majority should not rule..

That law is a Federal law, removing Federal protection to inter-State shipments of liquor into prohibition territory. It does nothing more. It is not a prohibitory law.

It might be shown that beverage use of

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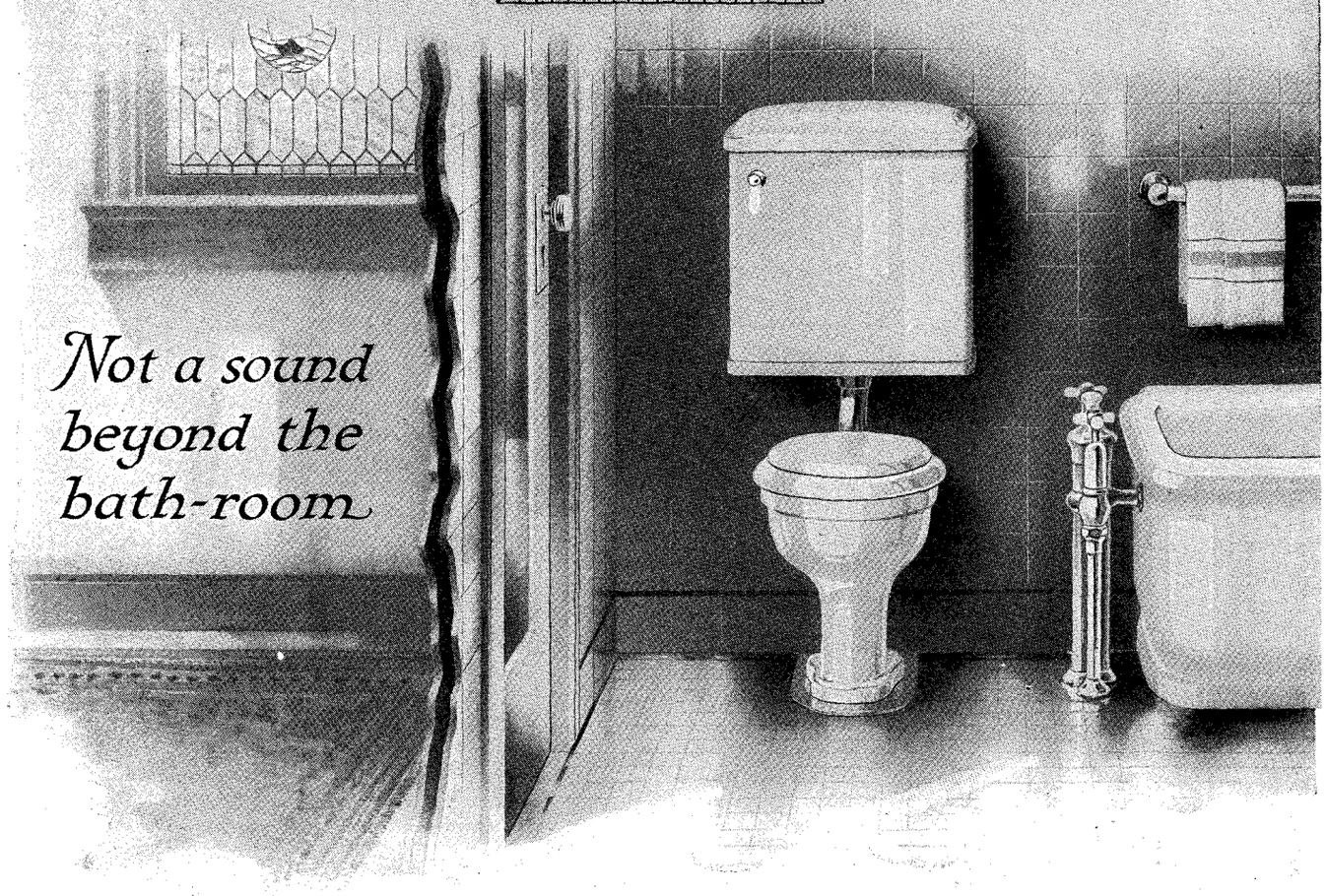

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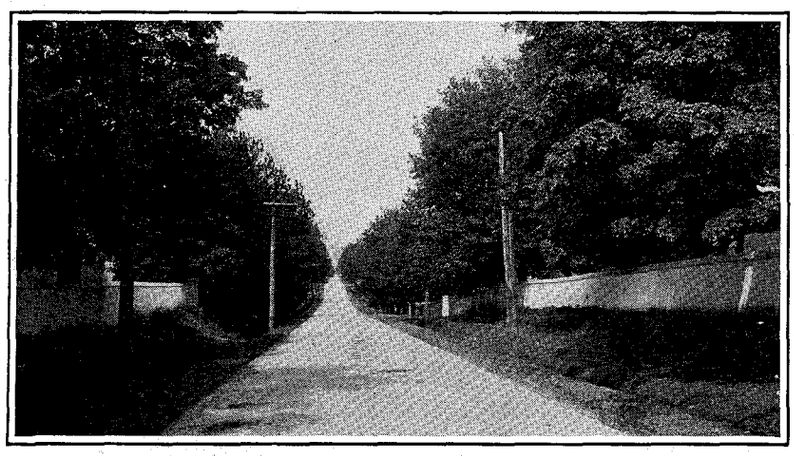

Concrete all the way from Toronto to Hamilton, a distance of 36 miles, of which over 31 miles are now completed. Work done by the Toronto-Hamilton Highway Commission, Geo. H. Gooderham, Chairman, H. S. VanScoyoc, Chief Engineer, Toronto.

Traffic Increased Fivefold on New Concrete Road

When roads are to be improved it is not safe to allow for only an ordinary increase in traffic. A good road not only attracts traffic from other roads but it creates new traffic. This is especially true of motor and truck traffic. Nothing less enduring than concrete will last under constant shearing and tearing of power driven wheels. Concrete is hard, rigid and unyielding; even, but not slippery.

After concreting the Toronto-Hamilton Highway in Canada, the Commissioners wrote:

> "The use of the highway has greatly exceeded what was estimated by the Commission. A count was taken in October, and at the western end near Hamilton the number of horse drawn commercial vehicles was greater than the entire traffic counted in 1914. Our highest count was almost five times the highest count made at the same point on the highway in 1914. In addition to the natural increase in traffic, the road is carrying a great deal of the traffic that formerly used parallel routes."

The fact that good roads concentrate traffic upon a few of them enables a community to build a connected system. It is estimated that 15% of the highways carry 85% of all traffic. A relatively small mileage will serve and that mileage can be built of the most durable construction at a total cost which, if properly financed, any community can afford. The money should be raised by a serial bond issue, to be retired in say 20 years. This spreads the cost so thinly, it won't be felt by anyone—an average for the state of 5 to 10 cents per acre a year and about $1 per town lot.

Concrete Least Expensive Durable Road

It costs less per mile than any other permanent road material, and its annual upkeep is really negligible. It has the same strength and durability on roads which make it universally used in important engineering works.

We will send you free a copy of "Concrete Facts About Concrete Roads." (Ask for Bulletin No. 136.) It gives reasons why so many states and counties have selected concrete for main highways and contains a variety of illustrations. Our engineers will help you to interest your neighbors and road officials. Write today.

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CONCRETE FOR PERMANENCE

The Reader's View (Continued)

liquor is not religious in principle and practice. It will be more fundamental to challenge the implication that the Government has no right to prohibit the practice of religious principles and tenets regardless of their character.

Human sacrifice was a leading religious principle and practice of the natives of Mexico at the time of the Spanish conquest. Prostitution is a temple rite in the religious worship of certain sects in India. As a condition precedent to admission into the Union of States, the National Government prescribed that polygamy, a religious institution and practice of professed disciples of Christ, should cease in Utah.

I am of the opinion that not even defenders of the liquor traffic in America would tolerate in America the sacrifices and the vices of the native religions of Mexico and India or restore polygamy. Even religious rites must prove that they have a right to live when they come into conflict with the general welfare.

The proposition that the minority should rule is so contrary to the established fundamentals of American civilization that it need not be discussed. Carried to its logical conclusion it would permit one of the hundred million Americans to thwart the will of all the others. J. L. CAMPBELL.

El Paso, Texas.

IN THE MOUNTAINS

Your recent article dealing with Southern mountaineers ("The Pine Mountain School," issue of February 21) suggests the following quotation from Professor A. P. Brigham's book "Geographic Influences in American History," in which he says:

> We do not yet know how much physical environment molds the mental and spiritual life. We cannot trace geographical influences in a complete way, but we gather hints of their power. Unless one is plying the Hudson for trade, Irving is the best guide to the river. His tales of humble domestic scenes in the "Legend of Sleepy Hollow" are pictures, and the woods in which Rip Van Winkle slept are the living forests of the Catskills.
>
> The reader of "In the Tennessee Mountains" or of "The Prophet of the Great Smokies" finds true pictures of the forests and hazy mountain slopes of the Southern Appalachians. But he finds also a human type not to be met elsewhere in the United States. He is courageous, original, reads the sky and forest in lieu of books, and is little troubled by the outside world.

In connection with the educational institutions for this region, the pioneer work of the Sunday-school missionary is one of great importance and helpfulness. Sound principles are implanted in the minds of the mountain boys and girls through the establishment of rural Sunday-schools in log cabins and one-room school-houses. Many of the young people get their first impulse for an education through the work of the mission Sunday-schools.

Some time ago I got off at a railway station in the mountains and began making a four-mile mountain climb on foot. The trail was difficult to find. It didn't show signs of being traveled very often.

When I reached Rock Springs, I found a school-house about 18 by 30 feet in size. It cost $37.50 to build. I looked around for a good while before I could locate the school building, it was so small and hidden away in a cluster of trees.

While I was waiting here a woman came by on her way to another settlement in the mountains. She carried a baby in her arms and her little brother ran along by her side. This mother had walked that morning about five miles with her baby in

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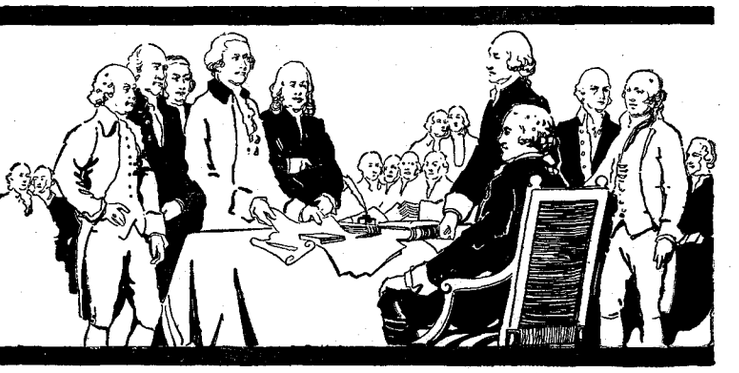
Founded by Empire Builders



On June 27, 1810, thirty-five years after the signing of the Declaration of Independence, a group of men gathered around a table in Ransom's Inn and organized the Hartford Fire Insurance Company, of Hartford, Conn. They were men of the same character and affiliations as the founders of the United States—business men, mayors, governors, members of the legislature and of Congress—and as Jefferson and his associates planned the foundations of the United States of America, so Nathaniel Terry and his associates laid a firm basis for the

INSURANCE *Service* OF THE TWO HARTFORDS

The Hartford Fire Insurance Company and the Hartford Accident and Indemnity Company write practically every form of insurance except life insurance. For over a century Hartford losses have been fairly and promptly paid. Descendants of the Hartford's founders are still stockholders in the company today. The same high standards of financial strength and integrity have been responsible for the Hartford's steady growth through all these years.

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Gentlemen: Please send information on the kind of insurance checked and name of Hartford agent to the name and address written on margin of this coupon.

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- ☐ Mail Package
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- ☐ Art Exhibitors
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- ☐ Accident and Health
- ☐ Burglary and Theft
- ☐ Plate Glass
- ☐ Workmen's Compensation
- ☐ Employers' Liability
- ☐ Elevator Liability
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James McCutcheon & Co. are now displaying their smart new wearing apparel for Spring and Summer. Correct models in Women's and Misses' Outer Garments for all occasions are shown in the many new materials.

Afternoon Gowns, $26.50 to 49.50.
Sport or Outing Dresses, $21.75 to 39.50.
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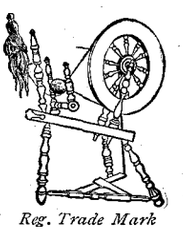
Send for new Catalogue,
"Women's Apparel for Spring 1917."



Reg. Trade Mark

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Fifth Ave., 34th & 33d Sts.
New York

The Reader's View (Continued)

her arms, and would have to walk eight miles farther before reaching her home. I wondered how her physical strength could endure such hardship, and yet this is a very common occurrence in some of our mountain settlements.

Many community picnics have been held in the Tennessee Mountains, under the auspices of mountain Sunday-schools. A notable instance of this is at Rhododendron Falls, Oakdale, in Morgan County. Here the grounds have been cleared and a spring of pure water piped into a concrete box. The place is inviting by reason of shade, coolness, and beautiful landscape. Basket dinners are spread at the noon hour, a social interchange follows, and the neighborhoods become better acquainted. These grounds will be made a permanent meeting-place for mountain assemblies. The results are very gratifying.

JAMES D. BURTON.
Brookcroft, Harriman, Tennessee.

COYOTES AND THEIR HABITS

Much effort, we are informed, has been made by the United States Government during the past year to stamp out rabies in northern California and neighboring regions. This work was made necessary by reason of the alarming increase of rabies among wild animals, particularly coyotes, with resulting danger to human beings and loss of live stock. The seriousness of the outbreak will be realized when it is stated that more than sixty persons were treated by the State authorities of Nevada during the year on account of exposure to rabies, such persons having been bitten by either wild or domestic animals. The loss of live stock has been heavy. In a feed lot at Winnemucca a single rabid coyote, it is said, caused a loss of twenty-seven steers.

A Canadian subscriber sends us a photograph, taken by himself, of a mad coyote. This we herewith reproduce, together with

THE MAD COYOTE

our correspondent's account of the habits of this species of wolf:

One day I was looking at my traps, when I was surprised to see my dog running to me. A wolf was following him very close, and was acting very strangely, snapping and biting at the snow and at small willows that were in his way. Then I realized that I was facing a mad coyote and not a starved one. In all my experience in the Northwest, as a hunter, trapper, prospector, and guide, I had never met a wolf that appeared to be as brave as this one. He was reckless because he was mad. As I carry only a re-

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It will pay you to keep in mind the difference between mere "tire *production* and *productive tires.*" You can profit by tire productiveness. You can't cash in on production.

A production tire is one of a huge quantity. One picked at random from the output of a frenzied day's work. A unit which has helped swell the big output by one.

Do you believe such a product can give you mileage? Can service and satisfaction be put into a tire when all effort is concentrated on the number produced?

WE COULD SPEED UP AND BUILD MORE MILLER TIRES!

They could be thrown into the vulcanizing pits—the steam jammed on; they could be jerked out again, and their *appearance* wouldn't be marred a bit. But the natural vegetable wax and oil in the fabric *might* be burned out, might be carbonized, leaving a lifeless tire incapable of standing up against punishment.

The Miller plan of building fewer tires makes each one a representative Miller. It explains the satisfaction motorists receive from them.

MILLER "GEARED-TO-THE-ROAD" TIRES have established a reputation both for productiveness and uniformity of service. They don't vary. All produce the fundamental thing for which they were built—MILEAGE.

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FOR MEN'S AND WOMEN'S SHOES

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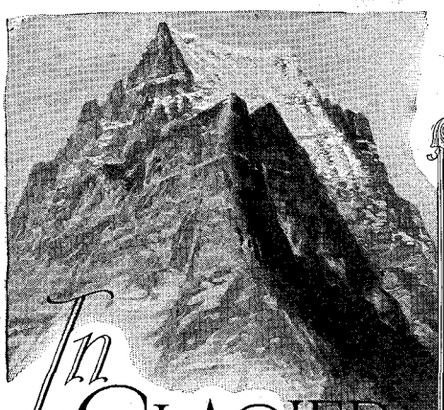

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Its fame is established among tourists who know. Last year thousands more than any previous year scaled its Alpine heights—breathed its wonderful mountain air—fished its tumbling streams—rode by launch on its azure lakes—motored through its pine-laden valleys. Its glaciers are worth a "'cross the continent" trip to see. Modern hotels-in-the-forest and picturesque chalet groups. Tepee camps. Vacations $1 to $5 per day.

Glacier Park is on the main trans-continental line of the Great Northern Railway. An ideal vacation trip is to visit Glacier National Park, the Spokane Country, and the wonderful Lake Chelan Region directly en route to the Pacific Northwest.

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Then go on to Seattle, Tacoma, Puget Sound, Portland, Astoria, Vancouver, Victoria—each with a delightful resort-country of its own—and Alaska.

Special round-trip fares to Glacier National Park, to the Pacific Northwest, Puget Sound and Alaska.

The twin Palaces of the Pacific—S. S. "Great Northern" and S. S. "Northern Pacific"—three times weekly between Portland, Astoria and San Francisco. Folder on request.

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Coyotes and Their Habits (Continued)

volver with me on such trips, I waited until the wolf was very near before I shot him, although I realized that he was far more dangerous than an ordinary wolf.

The ground where the coyote is seen standing in the picture was littered with the remains of a dead horse that had been burned. The coyotes visited this place to search for food, and it proved a good locality to set traps. They were placed in the paths leading to the litter of bones, etc. This is the only way to catch these wise old fellows, for if the traps are set close to the bait the wolves will avoid them. If, however, several traps are set, say one hundred feet from a large bait, along old logs or between two trees, the wary animals may get caught. This is what happens: Coyotes generally run in packs of from two to six or eight. When they come to signs of fresh bait, the leader of the pack (the "Professor" we call him), being the first to smell the promise of a meal, lets out a howl. The pack stops. Then the Professor begins to investigate. He goes toward the bait through the brush—never by a trail. If, on approaching the bait, he finds a trap set close to it, he steers away at once and notifies his friends to keep off—there is danger. If no trap is near the bait, the Professor begins his meal at once and invites the others to join him. His companions, having scattered by this time and not being so astute as the Professor, often start, in their haste to rejoin him, by the easiest trails. Then some of them, in their fatal eagerness to get to the food, are caught in the traps concealed in these paths.

I once caught two coyotes in one night by this method. The story the snow told me in the morning was this: The wise coyote got at the bait, without being trapped, in the way above described. His mate followed by the trail, and was caught in the trap there set. The old fellow at the bait, when he heard the spring of the trap and the howls of his companion caught in it, jumped like a frightened rabbit and got "rattled." He had arrived at the bait all right, coming safely to it through the thick brush. But now, running for dear life, and intent only on getting away from the dangerous place where his mate had been caught, he took the easiest and also the deadliest way—through the nearest trail—and got his foot caught in another trap set in the opposite direction to the one in which his partner had met his (or her) fate.

Once, while roaming over the prairie, I came upon a den of young coyotes. There was a big spruce tree at a little distance from the lair, on the side of a hill near it. I climbed up this tree with my camera and gun. After waiting a long time I saw the mother coyote following my tracks that led to her home. The cunning creature did not go into her lair, as I expected she would, but merely stopped at its entrance for a second. I heard her notifying her young ones not to come out. She reminded me very much of a human mother telling her children that they must be still—that the bad man was coming! Then she again began following my trail toward the tree. Soon she got the air in the right direction and immediately discovered me. I regret to say that I felt obliged to shoot her. I then blocked up the entrance to the lair and came the next day and placed my camera near the young wolves' home. I then went off a little distance, and, with a long string attached to the shutter of my camera, succeeded in getting several interesting pictures of the young coyotes when they came

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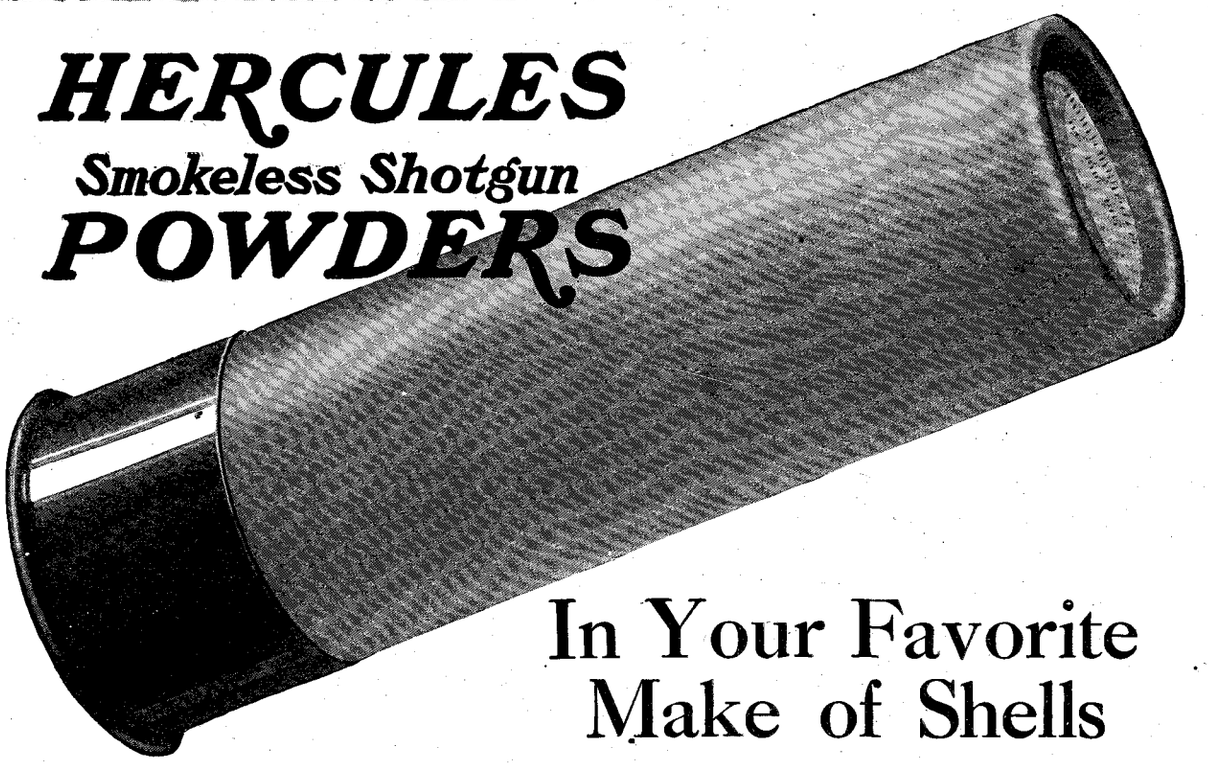
POWDERS



In Your Favorite Make of Shells

THE fact that you prefer some particular make of shell when shooting at the traps or in the field need not prevent you from enjoying the satisfaction given sportsmen by Hercules Smokeless Shotgun Powders, Infallible and "E. C."

These splendid powders, which are of high and remarkably uniform quality, may be obtained in any standard make of shell. Undoubtedly the shell you use is named in the list given at the left. The next time you order ask for a Hercules Powder in that particular make of shell. You will see the name of the powder stenciled on the box and on the top wad in each shell.

Hercules Smokeless Shotgun Powders give light recoil, high velocity, even patterns. You can't do better than shoot either Infallible or "E. C." Write for a free booklet that describes them fully.

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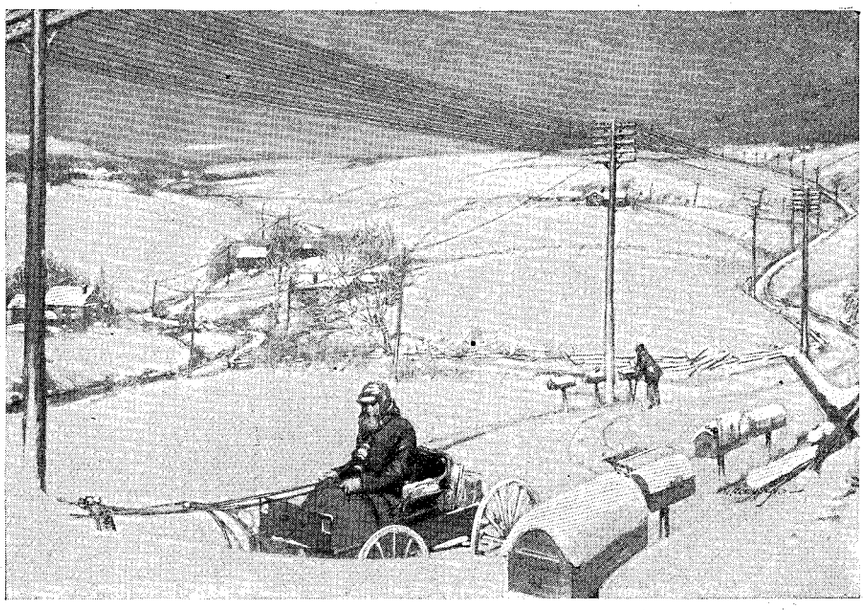

Standards of Service

In rural communities clusters of mail delivery boxes at the crossroads evidence Uncle Sam's postal service. Here the neighbors trudge from their homes—perhaps a few yards, perhaps a quarter mile or so—for their mail.

Comprehensive as is the government postal system, still the service rendered by its mail carriers is necessarily restricted, as the country dweller knows.

Long before rural delivery was established the Bell System began to link up the farmhouse with the neighboring towns and villages. One-fourth of the 10,000,000 telephones in the Bell System are rural. They reach more places than there are post offices. Along the highways and private lanes the telephone poles lead straight up to the farmer's door.

He need not stir from the cheerful hearth ablaze in winter, nor grope along dark roads at night for friendly news or aid in time of trouble. Right in the heart of his home is his telephone. It is the American farmer's key to the outside world, and in no other country is it found.

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One Policy *One System* *Universal Service*

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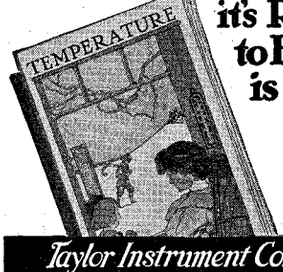

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Coyotes and Their Habits (Continued)

out to feed on the carcass of a rabbit which I had placed near the camera.

PAUL L. LAMBERT.

Spitfire Lake, Alberta, Canada.

WHAT IS AN ACCIDENT—LEGALLY?

BY LEWIS E. THEISS

The moot question, "When is an accident not an accident?" that has been perplexing officials who administer the workmen's compensation laws has been ruled upon by a Pennsylvania judge, Charles Y. Audenried, of the Court of Common Pleas, in Philadelphia, who in effect lays down the dictum that an accident is always an accident. His definition of an accident he takes literally from the Century Dictionary: "An accident is anything that happens without design or as an unforeseen effect; specifically, a mishap." And the Court ruled that in order to be within the benefit of the compensation law "an injury must be one that affects the body as distinguished from the mind, and must be produced by contact between the body and some external object."

The case in question was that of a worker in hides, Charles Roller, who suffered from dermatitis as a result of handling hides that contained sumac. The referee awarded him compensation against his employers, Drueding Brothers Company. The award was sustained by the Workmen's Compensation Board, and an appeal was taken from its decision.

The appellants contended that even when an injury is received in the course of an injured person's employment, compensation is not to be allowed him except where such injury is the result of accident, which they claimed was not the case with Roller; and that in order to come under the compensation act the injury must be the result of violence, which they also claimed was not the case with Roller.

In his decision Judge Audenried says: "Dermatitis is not a necessary or usual incident in a leather-dressing factory. The presence of poison such as chromic acid in the hides handled by the claimant was purely fortuitous and not a thing to have been expected. He was not bound to anticipate, as the probable consequence of carrying out the task assigned to him by the defendant, that he would meet with the harm that befell him." Judge Audenried then quotes the definition of an accident given above, and says: "It is impossible to see how the claimant's attack of dermatitis can be described as anything but accidental."

In answer to the plea that violence was necessary to secure compensation, the Court rules: "The word violence in this connection does not imply the idea of the application of any particular degree of force. In the criminal law, to lay hands, even gently, upon the person of another without justification or excuse is, technically, quite as much of an offense as to strike him with a club. So here: mere contact with an extraneous substance, if it results in a disturbance of any kind in the human body involved, is 'violence' within the legislative meaning."

The award to Roller, which amounted only to $81.12, was sustained. As a co-defendant with the Drueding Brothers Company was the Pennsylvania Manufacturers' Association Casualty Insurance Company, which carried the risk on Roller. Mr. Joseph R. Grundy, who is at the head of the Pennsylvania Manufacturers' Association, also heads the insurance company.

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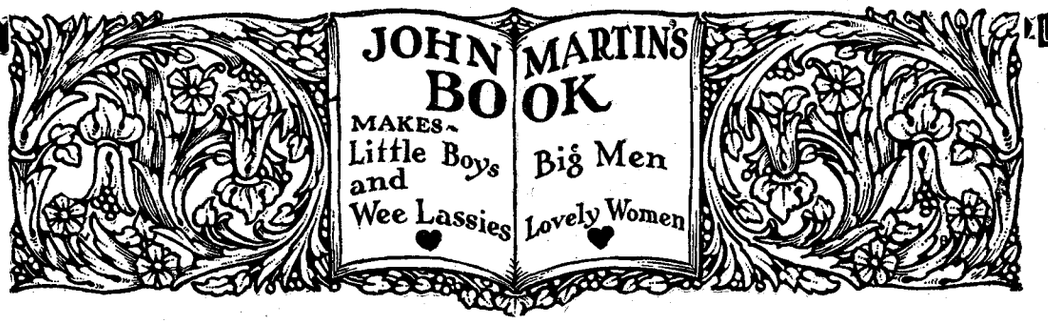

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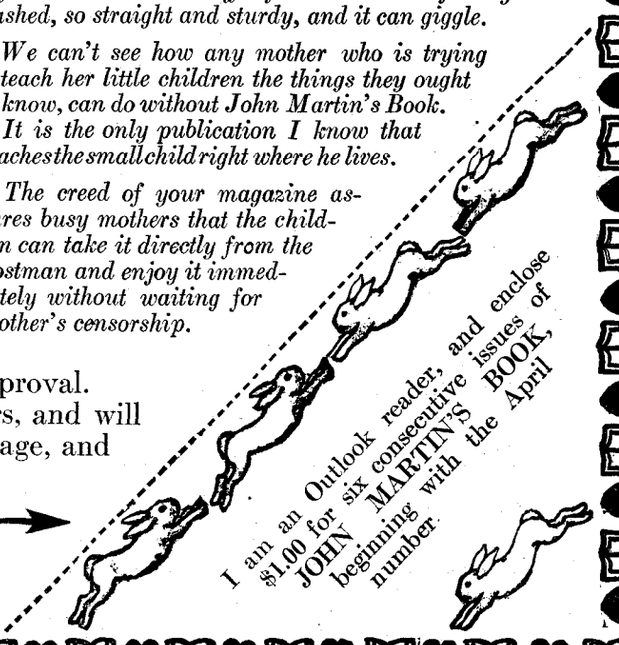

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This Department will include descriptive notes, with or without brief comments, about books received by The Outlook. Many of the important books will have more extended and critical treatment later

FICTION

Blue Envelope (The). By Sophie Kerr. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. $1.35.

A tale of detective work done by a girl stenographer.

Cleek's Government Cases. By Thomas W. Hanshow. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. $1.35.

Detective stories, ingenious but not well written.

Contemporary Drama of England (The). By Thomas H. Dickinson. (The Contemporary Drama Series.) Edited by Richard Burton. Little, Brown, & Co., Boston. $1.25.

Contemporary Drama of Ireland (The). By Ernest A. Boyd. (Contemporary Drama Series.) Edited by Richard Burton. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. $1.25.

Delight Makers (The). By Adolf F. Bandelier. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $2.

Mr. Bandelier's story deserves a new edition, not only as embodying the results of the author's years of ethnological and archæological study among the Pueblo Indians, but because it has elements of romance and poetry in it. Bandelier was a remarkable man—a discoverer as well as a scientist. He was the first to turn general attention to the enormous interest of the Pueblos, and he lived with the Indians as friend and companion. This edition has the advantage of elaborate photographic illustration.

Gay Life (The). By Keble Howard. The John Lane Company, New York. $1.30.

Despite the glaring cover and sensational title, this is not only an inoffensive story of stage life, but is jolly and lively. The author aims to show the human and friendly side of "the profession," particularly in "the halls" and in the provincial companies. Jilly Nipkin, the heroine, is what we would call a live wire and the English a good sort.

BOOKS FOR YOUNG FOLKS

Princess of Let's Pretend. By Dorothy Donnell Calhoun. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $1.50.

Stories with pictures for little children.

White Queen of Okoyong (The). By W. P. Livingstone. The George H. Doran Company, New York. $1.

The story of "Mary Slessor of Calabar" was told in the book of that name, and was retold in a special article in The Outlook of January 31 last. The present volume is prepared especially for young readers. It abounds in adventure, faith, and heroism.

BIOGRAPHY

Counts of Gruyere (The). By Mrs. Reginald de Koven. Illustrated. Duffield & Co., New York. $2.

Daughter of the Puritans (A). An Autobiography. By Caroline A. S. Creevey. Illustrated. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $1.50.

Herbert Spencer. By Hugh Elliot. Makers of the Nineteenth Century. Edited by Basil Williams. Henry Holt & Co., New York. $2.

Lord Stowell: His Life and the Development of English Prize Law. By E. S. Roscoe. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $1.50.

HISTORY, POLITICAL ECONOMY, AND POLITICS

American World Policies. By Walter E. Weyl. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.25.

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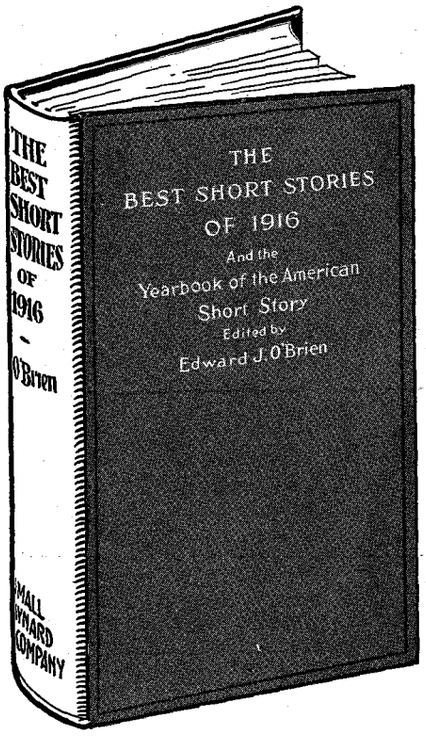
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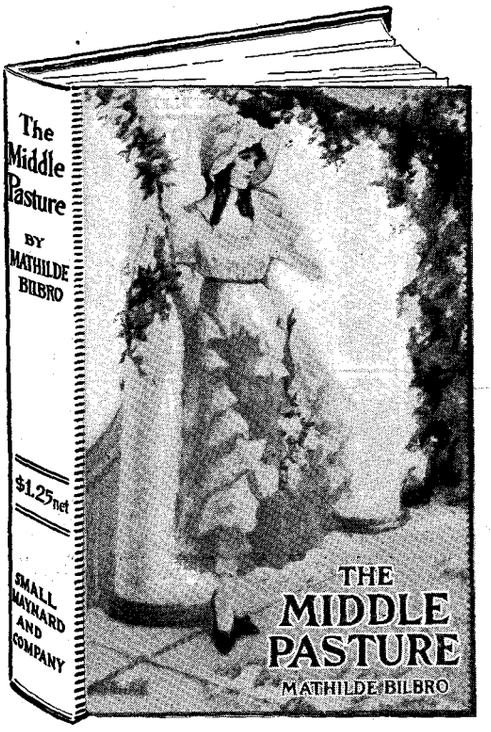

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Amateur Philosopher (The). By Carl H. Grabo. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.50.

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WAR BOOKS

At Suvla Bay. Notes of the Dardanelles Campaign Made by John Hargrave. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $1.50.

Bullets and Billets. By Bruce Bairnsfather. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $1.50.

The author, a young British officer, has become famous for his amusing cartoons and talks about trench life. His pictures were first made in the trenches themselves "just for fun," and they have now entertained thousands of people in England and America. They are essentially good-humored and touch off soldier life exactly.

Great Britain's Part. By Paul D. Cravath. D. Appleton & Co., New York. $1.

The naval achievements of Great Britain in the European war are now pretty well understood and appreciated throughout the world, but there is a somewhat prevalent impression in the United States that in spite of their bravery the British military forces have not accomplished much on land. This little book of one hundred and twenty-five pages, by a distinguished New York lawyer who has visited the war zone in France, gives a clear picture of the notable work of the British army. We do not know where the lay reader can obtain in so short a compass a clearer impression of the almost unparalleled work of the English

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The Gold I Found in My Street Car Rides

SEPTEMBER 25th, last, marked my thirty-first birthday. According to insurance-company statistics, I have lived more years than are still left to me. Yet I have only *just begun to really live.* Heretofore in the narrowness of my own little sphere I may have been, in a measure, happy. Today, when I look back upon the years and think of what I *thought* was happiness, a great regret fills my heart.

What I have done is not remarkable. I am relating my experience only because it may be some help to the tens of thousands of plain men and women who are dissatisfied with their lot, who are unhappy, discontented and who sometimes feel that the "game isn't worth the candle."

My education was limited, by force of circumstances, to the ordinary grade school. I began to work in an office, and after a number of years of faithful service I rose to a position paying $35 a week. There I stuck. Feeling that perhaps I had outlived my usefulness there, I sought and secured another position at the same salary. But I made no progress. I was reaching the time in life when a man begins seriously to worry about the future. Many of my friends had already earned enough to keep them in comfort; practically all of them were far better off than I.

My social life too was a dismal failure. I was "good company," only because I was a good listener. My wife, who had received a good education, often upbraided me for what she called my unnatural silence. But I had very little to say, simply because I was mortally afraid to show my ignorance of things worth while. When my friends talked of literature and writers, I was dumb. When they expressed opinions about plays and books, I could not offer intelligent criticism because I was afraid it would be laughed at. It was the same when other subjects came up. It wasn't that I didn't want to join in their talks; it was simply because I only knew *by hearsay* the subjects they talked about, and I didn't want to "bluff" my way through. When I think of those days, when I think of the embarrassment I used to feel—not only before my friends, but sometimes even before my wife—and when I compare those days with the present, I laugh when I think of the extraordinary difference.

Beaten down in business, isolated in my social life, I knew that the trouble was that I lacked *education*—not necessarily a college training, but the sort of knowledge that would broaden me mentally, that would make me a bigger man, that would increase my mind's power, that would enable me to listen understandingly, talk interestingly and intelligently. I began to buy books. But I soon discovered that promiscuous reading was practically useless. I "didn't have time" at night, I was too tired—and my reading was disconnected.

One evening, however, on my way home from work, a friend who was seated alongside me, reached into his pocket and brought forth a little limp leather book. I myself was reading a newspaper when this occurred—because it had become a habit with me to read a newspaper in street cars. I had never thought of reading a book to and from work, because the ordinary book is too large and unwieldy to carry around. I asked my friend where he got the book, and he told me the name of the publishers and informed me that they would probably send their books to me for examination.

That evening I wrote them a letter, and received, in a few days, sixty small limp leather books, exactly like the one I had seen, and a mahogany-finished book-rack to hold them. The publishers asked me to examine the books for a week and if I did not care to keep them, then to simply return them and I would be under no obligation. Eagerly, I examined each book—every moment discovering an author I had often heard about, or finding a book I had always wished to read. This little pocket library, it seems, had been acclaimed by educational authorities as the most excellent selection of titles ever brought together in so compact a form.

They were just exactly what I wanted, and I wrote the publishers that I would keep them. From that time on, instead of wasting my time in profitless reading, I began to devote myself to these great works. At home—in street cars—everywhere—whenever I had a few spare moments, I read a story, a poem, a play or an essay. One of my friends used to say I reminded him of Lincoln in my devotion to good books, referring of course to the fact that Lincoln used to walk *fifteen miles* to get a book by some great author whose works he wished to know. The books were small enough to carry in the pocket, and I had one with me always; sometimes when I went on trips for my firm, I used to carry half a dozen with me.

Do not misunderstand me. I did not pore through anything uninteresting to gain an empty "culture." I read because I was fascinated. I began to understand that the great books of the past are not called classics just because they appeal to a few professors and "highbrows," but because they have charmed, stirred and inspired millions of plain men and women like myself. I read because I could not tear myself away. I began to see why present-day writers themselves call these greater men "masters." I became imbued with ideals of life that had been a closed book. Great characters in novels, which were bywords to educated people, great poems and essays I had heard of but never read, became familiar to me.

In a few months I was a fairly well-read man. The range of my reading astonished even myself. I had become thoroughly familiar with some of the best writings of such world-famous writers as these:

G. Bernard Shaw	Thoreau	Oscar Wilde
De Maupassant	Coleridge	Poe
Abraham Lincoln	William Morris	Shakespeare
Ivan Turgenev	Prosper Merimee	Washington Irving
Stevenson	Browning	W. S. Gilbert
Henrik Ibsen	Olive Schreiner	Tennyson
Leo Tolstoy	Alex. Dumas	Walt Whitman
Dickens	An Anthology of	Geo. Washington
Dante	American verse, in-	Robert Burns
Maeterlinck	cluding the best	Thos. De Quincey
J. M. Barrie	works of American	Victor Hugo
Elizabeth Browning	poets	An Anthology of
Lewis Carroll	Rudyard Kipling	English verse, includ-
Hans Andersen	Emerson	ing the best poems
Longfellow	Conan Doyle	of English poets

The change in my life was marked, both from a social and practical point of view. No longer was I embarrassed in the company of my educated friends. I soon found I was as well-read as they. No longer did I feel a secret embarrassment, and wish myself miles off, when they discussed subjects of which I had been ignorant. My opinions and ideas now seemed as clear-cut as theirs. I could express myself. I could talk. My social life was revolutionized. More important, my inner life was revolutionized. I had stumbled, by chance, into a world that was dark to me before, a world now opened up by the greatest minds that perhaps have ever dwelt on this earth.

I philosophize often about these men. I look back, and realize how much of this Great Show of life I would have missed had I not become acquainted with them. They represent, no one can deny, the finest heritage of civilization. I say it should not be considered a duty that one lays upon himself, but as a precious incomparable opportunity—to commune with them in their works. They present aspects of life far beyond the humdrum existence of most of us. They have opened my eyes—they have opened the eyes of millions of men like me—to the tragedy and the glory of life, to its humor and to its pain, to its mystery—and to its meaning. Not to hear what they have to say, not to see what they have seen, is to align oneself with the animals.

M. B. S.

The publishers of the Little Leather Library—for that is the name of the series referred to above—have published these sixty leather-bound masterpieces, in a convenient pocket-size—*so that people may read profitably in spare time.* Fifteen minutes a day, usually spent reading a newspaper, will suffice within a short time to give any person a liberal education in literature. In publishing these works in such a form that they may be easily carried around, a genuine need has been filled. This is shown by the fact that in slightly over a year, *more than one million of these little volumes have been bought by the American public.* At times so great has been the demand it has been impossible to fill orders.

The sixty books are published at a price within the reach of any purse. Other publishers themselves have often asked how sixty leather-bound books can be sold at a price averaging only 31c. apiece. There is no secret as to how it is done. *Hundreds of thousands of books were printed at one time,* relying upon the public's love for good books to make the venture self-sustaining.

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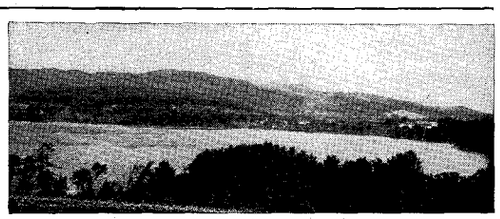

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A discussion of the legal dangers in too aggressive salesmanship.

Business Law for Business Men. Covering all the States and Territories in the Union. By Utley E. Crane. The John C. Winston Company, Philadelphia.

Carols Old and Carols New. Collected and Arranged by the Rev. Charles L. Hutchins, D.D. The Parish Choir, Boston. $5.

In reviewing this book in the issue for March 14 the price was omitted. It may be well to add that the book is not intended for the use of congregations, or even of choirs. Its size and price would forbid that. It is designed to be used for reference and for the selection of carols.

Mythology of All Races (The). Edited by Louis Herbert Gray. 13 vols. Vol. VI—**Indian,** by A. Berriedale Keith, and **Iranian,** by Albert J. Carnoy. The Marshall Jones Company, Boston.

This volume carries out the promise of the first volume of the series—a series as impressive as anything which has lately been published on the subject.

"'PLANE TALES FROM THE SKY"

(With apologies to Rudyard Kipling)

BY LAURENCE LA T. DRIGGS

New war stories are attaching themselves to the service of the fourth arm. A young English pilot and his observer were forced to descend into the enemy's lines through engine trouble. Before they could set fire to their machine they were seized and made prisoners by the Germans.

Late in the day the pilot was summoned and ordered into his airplane. In the rear seat was a rotund German officer, revolver in hand, who persuasively intimated to the pilot that unless he obeyed orders implicitly his head would be blown off.

The English lad understood the situation at a glance. The Royal Flying Corps' red, white, and blue markings on his airplane would permit him to skim along at low levels over the English lines without danger, thus disclosing to the artful Teuton many concealed positions invisible from higher altitudes. First, however, they must reach a high level over the German lines to avoid suspicion of the English forces below.

Up, up they went until a punch with the pistol barrel and a gesture directed the course over the trenches. Another gesture compelled the pilot to head nose down. He buckled on his safety belt, shoved over his "joy-stick," and the machine slid down at tremendous speed. A glance behind showed him his captor guest leaning forward, with both hands grasping the front of the cowl. Softly the joy-stick was pulled back. The dive flattened out, gradually took the up curve, and suddenly swooped straight up and over into a loop-the-loop.

Completing the maneuver, the lad gathered his machine together and straightened out his course for home. The seat behind was empty!

An American flier in France recently found himself far back of the enemy lines

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"'*Plane Tales From the Sky*" (*Continued*)

as dusk was coming on. Taking the shortest air-line back to his command, he studied the ground below for familiar landmarks. As he dropped nearer the earth the darkness grew. Suddenly he perceived that he was immediately over the flying field, and with a long spiral he made his landing, shut off his engine, and climbed onto the ground, hallooing for his crew.

To his amazement, his halloos were answered in guttural German, and he realized that he had placed himself and his machine in front of a German aerodrome. It was the work of a moment to seize the tail of his 'plane and swing it around to the rear. From out of the darkness he perceived advancing a number of *Boche* helpers.

"*Hält! Achtung!*" he shouted, with authoritative gesture.

Walking calmly to his machine, he adjusted throttle and spark, jumped down, and seized the propeller. With a single "crank" the engine roared. Taking a flying leap, he landed head first in his seat, opened the throttle, and began to move. Heedless of shouts and running figures, he struck blindly across the field, gradually raised his elevators, and began to climb.

Twenty minutes later, as he examined his machine under the lights of his own hangar, he counted over two hundred bullet holes through the planes and fuselage.

The Constitutionalists in Mexico last summer engaged the services of an American aviator for military duty. Villa had no opposing aircraft, so the mastery of the Mexican air was undeniably his. The field marshal of Carranza's forces was General F., a good soldier, a *bon vivant*, a gentleman, educated in Belgium, and much beloved by his men.

In fact, the General had only one fault—he disliked getting up in the mornings.

The aviator received his orders from General F., and to him made his reports. His duties were to take on a load of high explosives, fly over to the enemy's camp, drop his bombs where they would do the most good, make his observations, and fly back to report. His custom was to be off by daylight. Around nine or ten o'clock in the morning his day's work was done.

One morning the pilot received instructions to proceed over to a town forty miles distant, where a rebel expedition down the river was planned and machine guns were mounted on several barges, with which Torreon was to be bombarded.

Accordingly, the following morning the pilot flew away, found the several barges as described, and, circling them carefully, dropped one bomb on each barge, demolishing it. With two more missiles under him, he appeared over the town, sending one bomb through the principal palace, and with the last he destroyed the band stand in the plaza, under which was congregated a company of soldiers.

Highly elated with its perfect score, the "air squadron" betook itself homeward, where it safely arrived about nine o'clock.

An hour or so later an orderly appeared at the hangar with a message to report to headquarters.

Upon arrival at the hotel, General F., at the breakfast table, asked what he had done that morning. The airman reported with some pride his one hundred per cent score and described the damage he had done to the town of X.

"Well, that's too bad," replied General F. "I should have told you—we captured that town last night."

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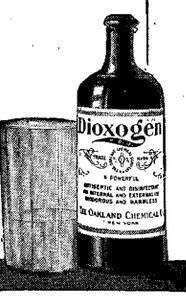

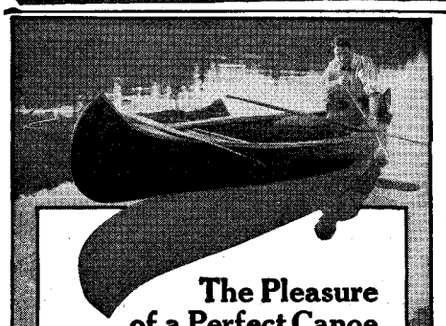

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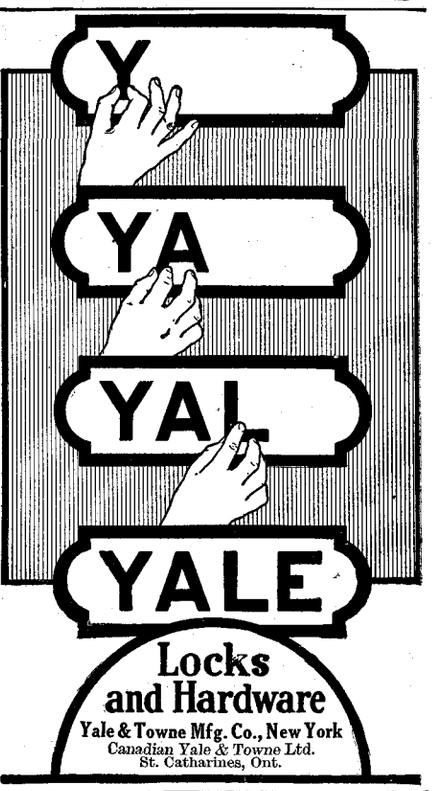

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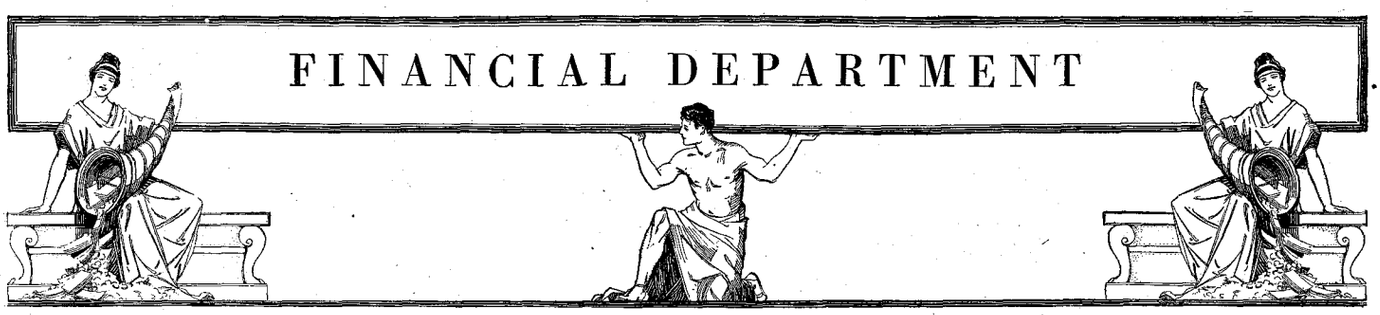

All legitimate questions from Outlook readers about investment securities will be answered either by personal letter or in these pages. The Outlook cannot, of course, undertake to guarantee against loss resulting from any specific investment. Therefore it will not *advise* the purchase of any specific security. But it will give to inquirers facts of record or information resulting from expert investigation, leaving the responsibility for final decision to the investor. And it will admit to its pages only those financial advertisements which after thorough expert scrutiny are believed to be worthy of confidence. All letters of inquiry regarding investment securities should be addressed to

THE OUTLOOK FINANCIAL DEPARTMENT, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York

True Conservatism

THERE is only one class of investors that does not suffer loss of invested funds. This class consists of those known as "conservative investors." They follow inflexibly these two fundamental principles:

To be contented with a fixed and reasonable income yield in order to assure complete safety of principal and complete freedom from care.

To purchase investments only of an established, responsible, and wholly reliable House, whose recommendation is worthy of full confidence.

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DEVELOPMENTS IN THE FARM LOAN FIELD

A CHICAGO banker recently expressed surprise that the British Treasury officials should have forced the sale in America of farm mortgage holdings of many of the English and Scottish investment companies. His comment on the fact was that Great Britain must be near the end of her resources, or rather those of her subjects, to require liquidation of such comparatively small amounts as even $1,000,000 in farm mortgages.

The truth of the matter is that farm mortgages are in such demand that they can readily be sold in substantial amounts, allowing a commission to cover the expenses of handling. Securities so readily negotiable do not escape the attention of Treasury officials. In addition, neither institutional nor private investors are permitted to reinvest their funds outside the Empire once their loans mature. As the average American farm loan matures in five years, the three years' course of the war will automatically deprive British investors of most of their American farm mortgage investments.

SCARCITY OF FARM LOANS

The scarcity of these loans in the United States is due probably to three main causes:

1. The extraordinary demand for farm mortgages during the past eighteen months. This is a condition brought about by the general prosperity. The great estates in the Middle West and many of the individuals there who possess large surplus funds have almost invariably made their money in agricultural or allied pursuits. They nearly always naturally turn first to the farm mortgage as a basic investment.

2. Farmers have had two prosperous years. Staple foodstuffs have never been so high within the memory of the present generation. This means the paying off of many farm obligations rather than renewal or negotiation of new loans. In the Southern States even the improvident Negro tenant farmer drove to the gin at the time of cotton picking, to return in some instances to his shabby cabin the luxurious owner of a phonograph or a low-priced automobile. To a certain extent every farmer has thus profited from the war. The family hogs are worth fifteen cents a pound on the hoof, and corn at $1.10 a bushel is so high that a serious problem lies in the question whether or not to feed the corn for pork.

3. The establishment of the twelve district Federal Farm Land Banks and of associations of borrowers under the provisions of the Act is resulting in a scarcity of farm loan applications in those territories where rates are high. In Texas, for instance, the borrowers' associations are being formed with large memberships, to which any one of good character may be admitted. These large associations apparently intend to base their operations on cash value of security offered rather than on the moral qualification of the individual. The collective strength of the large association is no doubt expected to carry any liabilities which may be incurred for the few members who will not promptly meet their obligations.

Much is still to be learned of the operation and ultimate effect of the new law; for the present many prospective borrowers are subsisting on expectations, as evidenced by the numerous loan applications received by the Federal Farm Loan Board.

DEVELOPMENTS IN RURAL CREDITS

Along these lines certain developments of importance are already announced: first, that, in the opinion of the Attorney-General of the United States, the new Federal Farm Loan Debenture Bonds will be exempt from personal property taxation in all States; second, that the first issue of the new Farm Loan bonds will shortly be placed on the market.

The first of these announcements is important because there are many States in which the strict administration of the tax laws brings about a strong preference and demand for tax-exempt securities. Among these are some of the best investment-buying States in the Union—Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Ohio, and Indiana. There are many other States in which the tax laws are not strictly enforced. The exemption of Federal Farm Loan Debentures from all taxes, both Federal and State, is a matter of fundamental importance. And though the Attorney-General's opinion is not at all conclusive, it places the new bonds practically on the same plane with the obligations of the Government itself, so far as the exemption is concerned.

Second, as to the issuance of new bonds, it is the impression among bankers that the Farm Loan Board is negotiating with a New York syndicate for marketing the first issue. The mortgages which are to be the basis of the Debenture Bonds have not yet been filed. It will therefore be several weeks at least before definite action can be taken. It is intimated that the rate will probably be 4½ per cent, and that probably 5 per cent will be charged the borrower until it can be ascertained whether the ½ of 1 per cent annual profit to the Federal Farm Land Bank will cover the expenses.

THE FARM MORTGAGE BANKER

Farm mortgage bankers have not altered their methods of doing business except in so far as impending competition from the Government banks has made it necessary for them to quote the farmer lower rates of interest. For the investor this means possibly the gradual disappearance of the old type of first farm mortgage, protected by a wide margin of safety, to yield 6 per cent. The custom and practice of the farm mortgage banking business are too well established to permit of any change in the fundamental principles of safe investment. But the rate will decline if the Government succeeds. It is useless to make predictions in this direction, and yet one thing is certain in either case, viz., that no mistakes can be made in buying farm mortgages while they are still available at 5½ or 6 per cent. The very fact that the Government is permanently in the business is a fair indication that many such loans will eventually be taken over or refunded under the provisions of the Federal Farm Loan Act. They will be taken out of the hands of private investors and placed with one of the district banks as security for the Federal Farm Loan Debenture Bonds.

It would be a hard thing to see the business of farm mortgage bankers impaired after the service which they have rendered, not without profit to themselves, to the farmers of the Nation. It is not for one minute to be assumed that the demand for high-grade farm loans will be reduced. Their record has been too good for that.

ESTABLISHED 1865

We Have Available Choice

Chicago Investments

Netting 5½% and 6%

These offerings include bonds of $100, $500 and $1,000 denominations, secured in every case by first mortgage upon well-located property of ample earning power to safeguard interest and principal.

Our recommendation is further based on:

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Write for circular No. 978 Z.

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Share In The Profits of A $100,000,000 Business

The output of Wisconsin Dairy Farms amounts to $100,000,000 annually and production is constantly increasing.

A nation-wide demand for this form of investment speaks volumes for its attractiveness.

We specialize in Dairy Farm Mortgages. 67% of our mortgages are bought by Banks, Trust Companies and other investors requiring absolute safety of capital and fair returns.

Write for our current list and Brochure on The Dairy Farm Mortgage. Gratis.

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Farm Mortgage Investments
1226 First National Bank Bldg.
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5% Farm Mortgages 6%
Security more than double the amount of the Mortgages
Interest Paid Promptly — No Defaults
Back of every DANFORTH Farm Mortgage there is FIFTY-EIGHT years' experience in lending on farm lands.
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BANKERS Founded A.D. 1858
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The safest possible investment. Illus. booklet tells why. Write for it and for list and plats of current loans. We know our field.
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6% NET

WE OFFER
$100,000.00 6% First Mortgage Real Estate Bonds
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THE CALIFORNIA-RIO GRANDE LAND AND STOCK CO.
A California Corporation

Denominations $100, $500, and $1,000. Dated April 1st, 1916; payable April 1st, 1926.

Semi-annual interest coupons payable at the office of Mercantile Trust Company of San Francisco, Trustee.

Land experted by Symmes & Means. Legal Opinion by Goodfellow, Eels, Moore & Orrick.

Expert appraisements show the value of the land to be 3 times the bonded indebtedness.

A high grade bond in every respect.

Price Par and Accrued Interest.

Write for Circular

CONSOLIDATED MORTGAGE & BOND CO.
First National Bank Bldg., Oakland, Cal.

Developments in the Farm Loan Field (Continued)

The point of greatest interest lies in the question whether or not the farm mortgage bankers can continue to get the loans in the face of Government competition. Just now, when the need for extended agricultural operations so palpably exists, it is to be hoped that both the Government and the bankers will be afforded every opportunity of conducting their business of farm financing to the benefit of a world much in need of all that we can possibly produce.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Q. Will you kindly give me your opinion of the Ten Year 6 Per Cent Gold Notes of the Northern States Power Company, Minnesota, as an investment for one who desires safety combined with a good rate of income?

Will you also explain why investors' guides almost invariably advise selection of the earlier maturities of bonds? One would naturally suppose that as the bonds are paid off and the equity in the property increases the later maturities ought to furnish greater security and at the same time save the trouble of frequent reinvestment.

A. The Ten-Year 6 Per Cent Notes of the Northern States Power Company are, in our judgment, reasonably safe and conservative.

This statement takes into consideration the fact that the notes are an unsecured obligation, and that their position is dependent almost entirely on the earnings of the Northern States Power Company. The circular describing these notes points out that net earnings are one and two-thirds times the interest requirements on the total outstanding funded debt. This cannot be regarded as a wide margin of safety for the notes, for the reason that they are junior to approximately $25,000,000 in bonds secured by an actual mortgage on the properties.

We are not aware that investors' guides invariably advise the selection of short maturities. This is a practice which is followed by institutions which are holding deposits subject to withdrawal, and where the assets, if they are invested, must be readily convertible into cash. It is, in our opinion, a mistake for the ordinary investor to buy short-term securities unless the necessity exists for converting his securities into cash on a moment's notice. If you are buying for investment, it seems to us that you will do better in the long run to select high-grade bonds selling at a discount from par, with the idea of holding such securities until they mature. It often happens that such bonds advance in price and afford the opportunity for sale at a profit, together with the reinvestment of the funds in other securities which may similarly advance at some time in the future.

No matter how long term a bond may be, it will enjoy a market under all normal conditions, providing that it is well regarded and is of an issue outstanding in some substantial amount. There are, of course, small issues of bonds which are high grade but which do not command a market because they have a limited distribution and because there are not many people either on the buying or selling side of the market.

The notes which you are considering have a longer period to run than most securities of similar character. We should prefer bonds secured by an actual mortgage on the properties rather than an unsecured obligation running for a ten-year period.

Q. I am considering two bonds in the same locality: Kansas City Railways Company First Mortgage 5s, Kansas City Light and Power Company First Mortgage 5s. Which do you think the better?

Partial Payment Suggestions

Diversified Partial Payment investment makes it possible for the man saving and investing $15 or more a month to apply the same principles to his purchases as have proved a good guide for large investors.

We have outlined in detail a number of Partial Payment suggestions which can be used to meet your requirements. You will find suggestions outlined to suit people with small or large incomes who desire to practice investing while they save.

Send for Circulars M 48 and T 48.

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Public Utilities keep apace with the country's rapid growth. During the past 35 years, the population of the country has increased 100%. Towns have grown into cities. Public utilities have accompanied the development.

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Investment in these Bonds combines safety with most liberal income. The interest is payable semi-annually. Purchased at any age between 50 and 60, the income is from 6% to 7% for life; between 60 and 70, 7% to 8%; between 70 and 80, 8% to 9%.

Peddie Institute is a 50-year old Institution dedicated to the broader cultural education of boys under Christian influences. The purchase of its Annuity Bonds will widen the school's field of usefulness and make certain your money will be devoted to a good work after you are gone. Purchasers may direct applications of proceeds either to Buildings and Equipment, General Endowment, or Founding of Scholarships for Worthy Students. No inheritance tax, no will contest, no uncertainty of administration. Address

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Questions and Answers (Continued)

Is there any reason why the railway bond should cost less?

A. There is probably only one reason, viz., railway properties are more dependent on the labor factor than power and light. Strikes in power plants are comparatively rare as compared with railway strikes. The bonds which you mention are both high grade and both adequately protected by admitted equities set forth in the franchise ordinance recently granted by the city. Earnings of both companies are excellent.

Free Booklets for Investors

Many of the investment bankers publish booklets and literature for the information of prospective investors. The following is a list of booklets which may be obtained by writing to the investment houses issuing them, mentioning The Outlook, or by writing direct to the Financial Editor of The Outlook:

Investment List No. C-705. S. W. Straus & Co., 150 Broadway, New York; Straus Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

Circular No. 978-Z, Chicago Investments. Peabody, Houghteling & Co., 10 South La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill.

"War Loans and the United States." Guaranty Trust Company, 140 Broadway, New York.

Brochure on The Dairy Farm Mortgage. Markham & May Company, 1226 First National Bank Building, Milwaukee, Wis.

Circular on First Mortgage Real Estate Bonds. Consolidated Mortgage and Bond Company, First National Bank Building, Oakland, Cal.

Circulars M 48 and T 48, Partial Payment Suggestions. John Muir & Co., 61 Broadway, New York.

Booklet "O"—Partial Payment Plan. McClave & Co., 67 Exchange Place, New York.

"List of Securities"—Public Utilities. Williams & Coleman, 60 Wall St., New York.

"50 Good Reasons." Waddell Investment Company, 921 Baltimore Ave., Kansas City, Mo.

Booklet "S" and List of Offerings. E. J. Lander & Co., Grand Forks, N. D.

Descriptive List No. 58. A. G. Danforth & Co., Washington, Ill.

Georgia Farm Mortgages. Sessions Loan and Trust Company, Marietta, Ga.

Circular O-8. Oakland Street Improvement Bond Company, Oakland, Cal.

Oregon Farm Mortgages. Cronan Mortgage Company, 906-911 Spalding Bldg., Portland, Ore.

"Don't-Snore"
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Every citizen is concerned in the situation presented and its relation to his own affairs.

How American Wars since 1776 have been financed and these War debts discharged; the economic effect of War loans in this country and in Europe; lessons taught by experience and the opportunities offered for the future are described in a booklet entitled "War Loans and the United States," issued and sent upon request by the

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Here are a FEW suggestions of the wide scope and tone of its contents taken at random from the index to the books: Cowper, On Keeping One's Self Employed; Burke, On The Principles of Good Taste; David Hume, The Defeat of the Spanish Armada; Lord Chesterfield, Of Good Manners, Dress, and the World; Matthew Arnold, The Motive for Culture; Herbert Spencer, The Ornamental and the Useful in Education; Swift, On the Art of Lying in Politics; Swift, On Pretense in Philosophers; Marcus Aurelius, On His Debt to Others; Cicero, Of Brave and Elevated Spirits; Epictetus, Of Friendship; Emerson, On His Visit to Carlyle; Adam Smith, The Advantages of a Division of Labor; Sir Richard Steele, Of Companions and Flatterers. These are but 15 of the 453 selections which make up the work.

Truly they represent the sum total of what is edifying and profitable in literature. Perhaps nowhere else is it better shown that, as Lord Bulwer has said, "It is the glorious doom of literature that the evil perishes and the good remains."

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